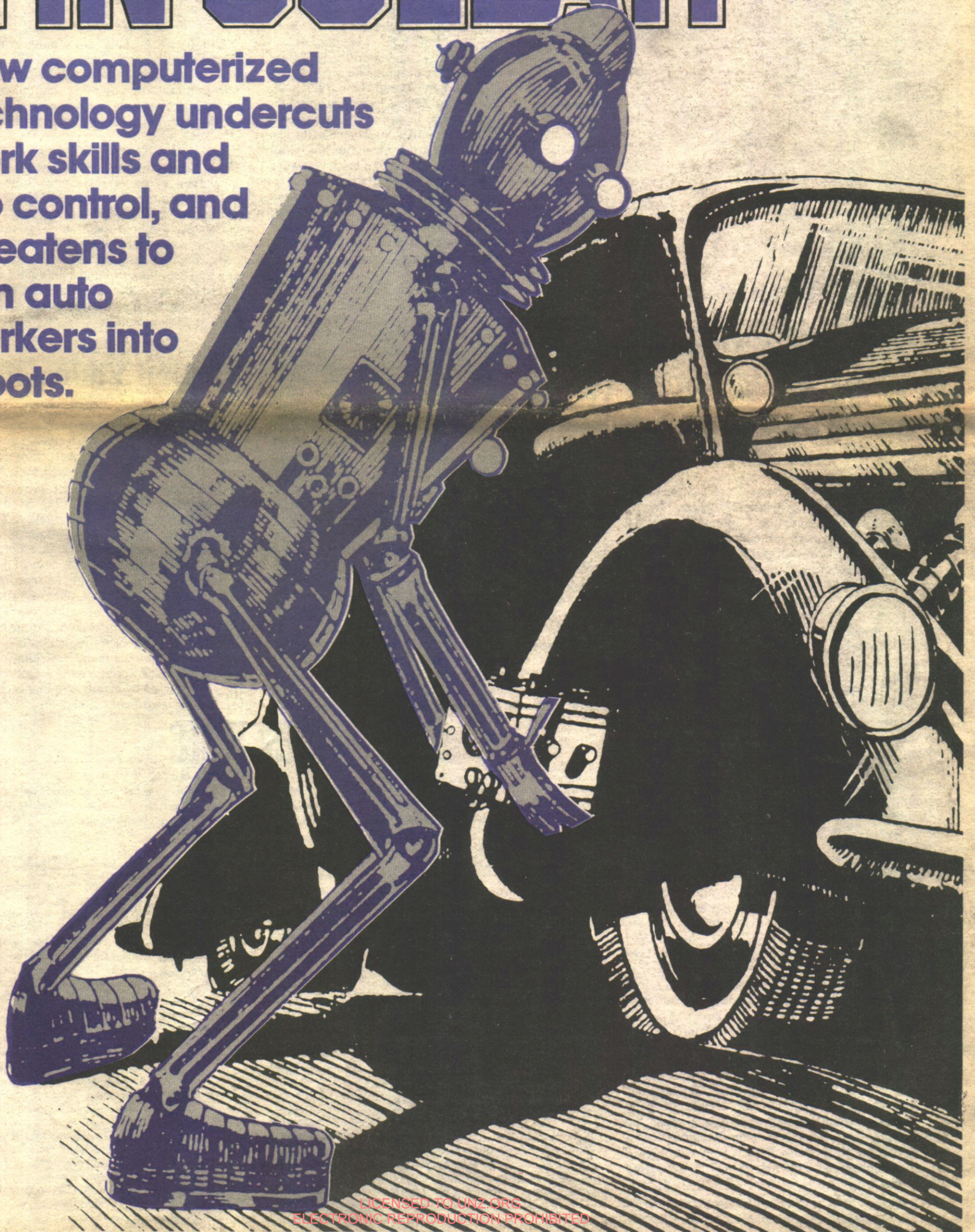




TIN COLLAR

**New computerized
technology undercuts
work skills and
job control, and
threatens to
turn auto
workers into
robots.**



THE INSIDE STORY



Vernon Jordan of the Urban League.

Blacks issue a 'Declaration of Independence'

By John Judis

On Aug. 22, over 200 black leaders convened at the NAACP headquarters in New York City to respond to Andrew Young's forced resignation and to growing tensions between black and Jewish leaders. These tensions directly concerned Young's ouster, but they also went back to Jewish organizations' support for the Bakke "reverse discrimination" suit and to Jewish leaders' unwillingness to criticize Israeli ties with South Africa and white Rhodesia.

At past meetings of black leaders, the issue of black-Jewish relations and of black support for Palestinian rights had bitterly divided the black movement. The NAACP and the Urban League had boycotted the 1972 black leadership conference at Gary, Ind., which over 10,000 black activists and elected officials attended, partly because of a pro-Palestinian resolution, and Detroit mayor Coleman Young subsequently led the Michigan delegation out of the conference in protest against the resolution.

What divided blacks was not so much who to support in the Mideast, but rather who to offend in the U.S. Major black officials and leaders of organizations that depended heavily on Jewish financial and political support were unwilling to enrage the Jewish community by adopting positions critical of Israel.

At the August 1979 meeting, similar debates reportedly occurred, but with two significant differences. First of all, the "radicals" and the "nationalists" like Newark's Amiri Baraka, who helped set the tone for the Gary meeting, were absent from the New York City meeting. The debate occurred largely among self-described "moderates." Secondly, it was resolved in favor of a position critical of Jewish organizations and supportive of Young and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's overtures to the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Psychologist Kenneth Clark described the resolutions adopted by the meeting as "our Declaration of Independence."

Heated debate.

Among the convenors of the New York meeting were Gary mayor Richard Hatcher, National Urban League president Vernon Jordan, former Black Caucus chairman Rep. Parren Mitchell, Dorothy Height, the president of the National Council of Urban Women, and PUSH president Rev. Jesse Jackson. Religious organizations like the Progressive Baptist Convention (with 1.5 million members) attended, as well as representatives of black sororities and fraternities.

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According to *Chicago Tribune* columnist Vernon Jarrett, who attended the conference, the debate over the resolutions was quite heated. Four resolutions were finally adopted. They included ones on Andrew Young, the SCLC's right to its views, black foreign policy, and black-Jewish relations. It was the black-Jewish resolution that sparked the most debate.

The NAACP, with the support of the Urban League and Bayard Rustin from the A. Phillip Randolph Institute, backed a resolution saying that the black-Jewish tension was "now behind us." Georgia State Senator Julian Bond proposed a resolution that sharply criticized Jewish organizations' stands on affirmative action and Israeli foreign policy. With the support of William Jones of the Progressive Baptist Convention, who reportedly shouted down Rustin, Bond's resolution was adopted.

The Urban League's Vernon Jordan reportedly argued that the Bond resolution would imperil his organization's \$1.7 million budget, some of which came from Jews. Other black leaders argued that Arabs could become an alternative source of funds for black organizations.

The division at the New York conference was described as one between "younger" and "older" black leaders, but it also seemed to be between organizations whose membership base and financial support was predominately black, like the Delta Sigma Theta sorority or the Progressive Baptists, and organizations like the NAACP or the Urban League, which are both part-white and depend on Jewish financial support.

But subsequent events have suggested that the final unity reached at the meeting did indicate a new direction for the black movement. Of all the participants, only Rustin, in a *New York Times* Op Ed piece, sought to distinguish himself from the meeting's conclusions. (Rustin had published a similar statement after the 1972 Gary meeting.) TransAfrica, the major black lobby for influencing American foreign policy toward Southern Africa, came out for a Palestinian state. TransAfrica is chaired by Gary mayor Hatcher and supported by the NAACP. And on Sept. 11, the NAACP's Board of Directors, while affirming their support for Israel's permanent existence, called for a Palestinian homeland and for talks between the Israelis and the P.L.O.

Excerpts from the four resolutions adopted at the New York meeting follow.

Black/Jewish relations

There is no question that individual Jews and Jewish organizations and their leaders have worked as part of a liberal coalition with blacks and organized labor to form a powerful political force for social and economic reform in the United States...However, it is fact that within the past 10 years some Jewish organizations and intellectuals who were previously identified with the aspirations of black Americans for unqualified educational, political, and economic equality with all other Americans abruptly became apologists for the racial status quo. They asserted that further attempts to remedy the present forms of discrimination were violative of the civil rights laws.

Powerful organizations within the Jewish community opposed the interest of the black community in the *DeFunis*, *Bakke*, and *Weber* cases up to the United States Supreme Court. Beyond that, some Jewish intellectuals gave credence and policy substance to such concepts as "reverse discrimination" and "quotas" as reasons for restricting further attempts to continue to seek remedies for the present discrimination against blacks.

Black America is also deeply concerned with the trade and military alliance that exists between Israel

and the illegitimate and oppressive racist regimes in South Africa and southern Rhodesia. That relationship imposes upon Jewish organizations in this country an obligation to insist that the State of Israel discontinue its support of those repressive and racist regimes.

Realism demands that the burden of resolving the black-Jewish tensions which have been brewing for years cannot be placed disproportionately on the backs of already overburdened Blacks; Jews must show more sensitivity and be prepared for more consultation before taking positions contrary to the best interests of the black community.

Andrew Young

It is an accepted fact of American mentality that for any black person to attempt to speak for this country on international matters invites the wrath of those who have assigned unto themselves the role of world leaders. Naturally, this attitude is directly tied to the 400 years of Western colonialism which saw whites as the subjugators of the darker races.

Given this history, it should therefore come as no surprise that so many white Americans would regard with great alarm the initiatives of such a superb diplomat as is United Nations Ambassador Andrew Young, the first black to hold that post. The old colonial empires are dead. But the mentality, undergirded by racism, still lingers on in the minds of too many whites.

Rights of the SCLC

We join with Ambassador Young in rejecting the notion that any foreign nation should dictate the foreign policies of the United States. We summarily reject the implication that any one other than blacks can determine their proper role in helping to shape and mold American foreign policies which directly affect their lives.

Blacks and foreign policy

Black Americans strongly protest the callous, ruthless behavior of the United States State Department toward Mr. Young. We deplore the history of racism and the bureaucratic recalcitrance that is so endemic to that agency...We hold the State Department fully accountable to the American people for events surrounding Mr. Young's resignation and call upon President Carter and Mr. Vance to make public the complete details surrounding the Ambassador's meeting with the P.L.O. the circumstances pertaining to the public disclosure of that encounter.

Behind Young ouster

The *Jerusalem Post's* Washington correspondent Wolf Blitzer has published in the *New Republic* a plausible account of the events leading up to Andrew Young's forced resignation. According to Blitzer, the details of Young's July 26 meeting with P.L.O. representative Zehdi Labib Terzi were known through routine monitoring of PLO and other Arab communications by the National Security Agency. The NSA was responsible for the transcript of the meeting, which Young claimed was in State Dept. hands by July 30. On Aug. 11, Young told Asst. Sec. of State William Maynes the details of the July 26 meeting. It was decided then to present it as a "social" encounter. The State Dept. and Young only disavowed this account after Israel officially protested the meeting. Blitzer also notes the ABC News report, which it refused to retract after a White House denial, that the Carter administration knew about Young's meeting with Terzi before it occurred by means of a bug in Young's Waldorf Astoria apartment.

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Church move threatens SALT

By John Judis

FEDERAL ELECTION LAWS DO not limit the amount of money an individual or organization can spend against a candidate as long as it is not on behalf of another candidate. In Idaho, a state with only 700,000 residents, and about half that many voters, conservative groups, led by the National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC), plan to spend over \$100,000 against Sen. Frank Church before their darling, Rep. Steve Symms, even enters the 1980 Senate race. On state television networks, commercials are regularly shown depicting Church as a big spender, an advocate of abortion, and an opponent of a strong America. One commercial shows an empty missile silo. The message is: Frank Church has permitted America's strategic defenses to deteriorate.

Since the spring, Frank Church, who is desperate to win re-election and retain his coveted chairmanship of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, has been trying to mollify his potential Idaho opposition. In the spring, he voted for a Jesse Helms amendment to the Department of Education bill that would have prohibited the Supreme Court from interfering with school prayers. He supported a Robert Dole proposal to prevent any increase in the national debt without a two-thirds vote of the Senate. He opposed Patricia Wald for the Court of Appeals because of her advocacy of women's rights, and he is expected to oppose Abner Mikva because of Mikva's support for gun control.

But these gestures pale before Church's role in the recent Cuba crisis. On Aug. 30 Undersecretary of State David Newcom telephoned Church in Boise to tell him that the State Dept. was going to announce the presence of a Soviet brigade in Cuba. Instead of waiting for the State Dept. announcement, Church invited reporters into his Boise home and issued his own announcement. He called for "the immediate removal of all Russian combat troops from Cuba," and warned that if the troops were not removed, SALT II was doomed.

In so doing, Church set off a diplomatic crisis that may destroy SALT II. It may even prompt vainglorious acts of militancy from an administration whose chief virtue has been its relative temperance in foreign affairs.

Intelligence leaks.

The debate about whether a brigade of 2000-3000 Soviet troops were stationed in Cuba has been going on for several years within the CIA, the Defense Intelligence Agency and the National Security Agency. And intelligence experts acknowledge that the troops could have been there since 1962, as the Soviet Union has claimed.

Last July, intelligence sources who believed the troops to be there leaked information to Florida Sen. Richard Stone, who is also up for re-election in 1980 and who fancies himself the representative of Florida's growing Cuban exile community. Stone's charges of Soviet troop presence in Cuba were drowned, however, in the hullabaloo about Carter's cabinet dismissals.

On Aug. 17 and 20, U.S. satellite photos reportedly confirmed the presence of Soviet troops a few miles west of Havana. The State Dept. was still intent on not publicizing the findings because of their possible effect on SALT II—or at least of reaching some private accord with the Soviets prior to any announcement of the troop's presence—but officials discovered that *Aviation Week* had obtained a full report on the troops' presence and was planning to publicize it. At that point, State Dept. officials got in touch with leading Senators and



Sen. Frank Church, facing election pressure at home, precipitated the Cuba crisis.

By demanding the withdrawal of Soviet troops in Cuba, Senator Church has jeopardized SALT II.

Representatives, including Church, and prepared their own announcement.

News of the troops might still have largely been ignored except by Stones and by retired generals. Last November, the "discovery" of Soviet Mig-23s in Cuba (they had been openly displayed at a parade in Jan. 1978) caused a brief flap, which subsided after the Soviet Union assured the U.S. that the Mig-23s were not equipped to carry nuclear bombs. But the State Department's projected announcement coincided with the 1980 re-election woes of 24 Democratic Senators, several of whom, like Church, have been targeted by right-wing organizations, with the projected passage of SALT II, which had been given new life with the "conditional" support of former Sec. of State Henry Kissinger and

Georgia Sen. Sam Nunn, and with the renewed spectre of Cuba's red star over the Caribbean and Central America. The Cuba affair was therefore seized upon both by opportunist liberals and by disgruntled hawks who see a last chance to sack SALT II and to discredit the Carter administration's dovish foreign policy.

Diplomatic stalemate.

The purpose of the troops remains unknown. Sources speculate that they could be being used to train Cuban troops (which is the Soviet explanation), to replace Cuban troops sent to fight in Africa, or to guard a Soviet communications facility. Intelligence officials acknowledge the total absence of any air or sea transport that would permit the troops to be used outside of Cuba; and

they also acknowledge that 2000-3000 men can hardly threaten the beleaguered army of a Latin American dictator, let alone the U.S. Army.

Carter and the State Dept. have also tried to minimize the "crisis" atmosphere that Church has created. To the demands of Church, Dole, and Kissinger that the troops be withdrawn entirely, Vance has responded ambiguously that the U.S. "won't be satisfied with the status quo." Pres. Carter has stated that the nation should react "not only with firmness and strength but also with calm and a sense of proportion." National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski warned that it was "escapist" to link the passage of SALT II to the withdrawal of Soviet troops.

But so far Church and Dole have found surprising support for a show of militance. Delaware Sen. Joseph Biden Jr., who had announced his unqualified support for SALT II last July, said that withdrawal of the troops was the only satisfactory solution. And Senate Majority leader Robert Byrd has admitted that barring resolution of the crisis, SALT II would not stand a chance in the Senate.

At the same time, State Dept. officials acknowledge that the Soviet Union is very unlikely to agree to the troops' removal. Unlike the projected nuclear submarine base at Cienfuegos Bay, which the Soviet Union abandoned in 1970 at American request, the troops do not violate the agreement worked out in 1962 between the Kennedy administration and Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev. That agreement stipulated that the Soviet Union would not introduce offensive weaponry into Cuba.

"Our position that the status quo is not acceptable is pretty open-ended and could include statements from the Soviets," a State Dept. official told *IN THESE TIMES*. "But Church has taken the hard position that the troops have to be withdrawn. And I doubt whether the Soviets will do that."

"Church has painted himself into a corner, unless he plans to torpedo SALT." ■

SALT called arms escalation treaty

By John Judis

IF A WAY OUT OF THE CUBA CRISIS is found, SALT II will pass without amendments to the actual text. That is now the consensus of both proponents and opponents of the treaty. But like SALT I it will only be passed at the expense of any slowdown in the arms race.

At the July SALT hearings in the Senate Foreign Relations and Armed Services Committees, representatives from the Committee on the Present Danger and the Committee for Peace Through Strength tried in vain to back up Sen. Henry Jackson's charge that the treaty amounted to an "appeasement" of the Russians. They fastened on the treaty's permitting the Soviet Union 308 heavy missiles while forbidding any American heavy missiles and on the omission of the Backfire bomber from the treaty's provisions.

But treaty proponents were quick to point out that the U.S. didn't need and didn't plan to build any heavy missiles. The Soviet Union had built heavy missiles because they were hitherto incapable of building lighter, more accurate ones, and therefore had to make up in "throw-weight" what they lacked in accuracy.

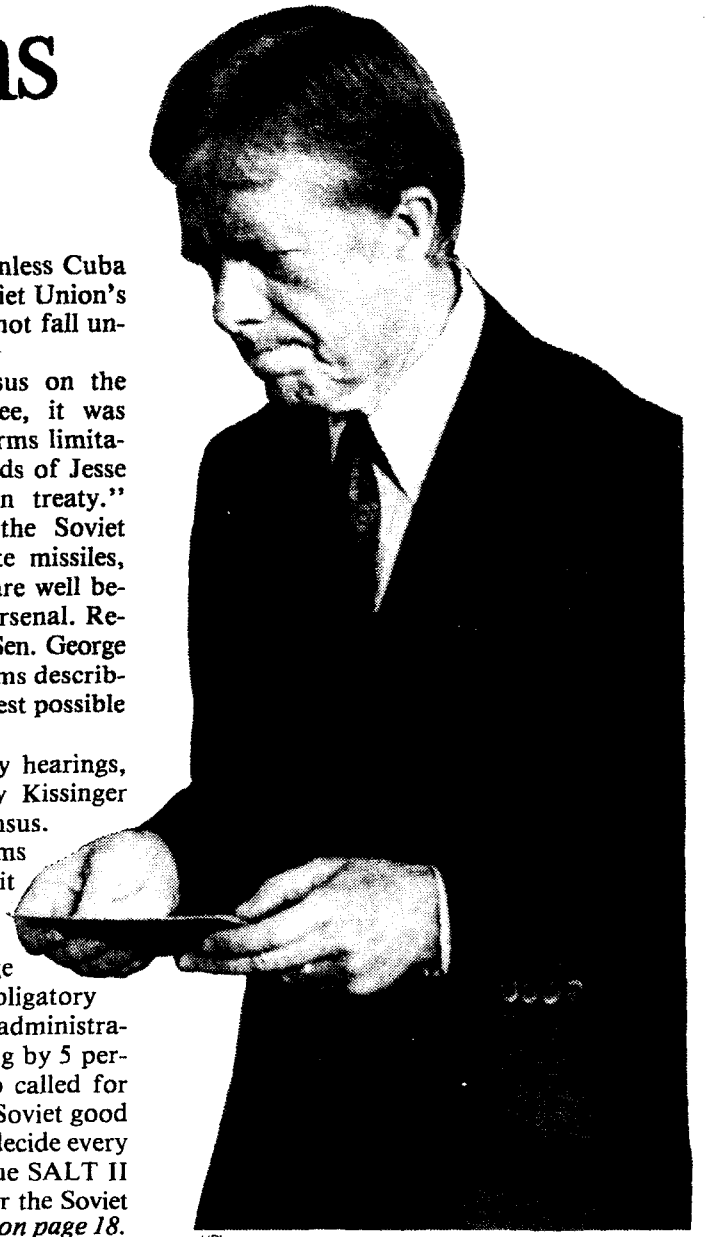
Treaty proponents also pointed out that the Backfire is not a "strategic"

(transcontinental) weapon unless Cuba is counted as part of the Soviet Union's land mass and therefore did not fall under the purview of SALT.

If there was any consensus on the Foreign Relations Committee, it was that the treaty was not an arms limitation measure, but in the words of Jesse Helms, an "arms escalation treaty." Outside of requiring that the Soviet Union destroy some obsolete missiles, the treaty set "limits" that are well beyond each nation's present arsenal. Referring to his agreement with Sen. George McGovern on this issue, Helms described their coalition as "the widest possible wingspread in history."

But at the end of the July hearings, former Sec. of State Henry Kissinger was able to exploit this consensus. If SALT II didn't limit the arms race, Kissinger argued, then it was necessary to go full speed ahead. On July 31, Kissinger said that the treaty's passage should depend on an "obligatory commitment" by the Carter administration to raise defense spending by 5 percent annually. Kissinger also called for linking the SALT process to Soviet good behavior. The Senate would decide every two years whether to continue SALT II negotiations, based on whether the Soviet

Continued on page 18.



UPI

IN SHORT

WE'RE ORGANIZING FOR JUSTICE



Los Angeles bans J.P. Stevens

The five member Los Angeles Board of Public Works has unanimously rejected accepting bids for carpeting and other textile products from J.P. Stevens and Co., calling the nation's second largest textile firm an "irresponsible bidder."

Public works board president Warren A. Hollier told *IN THESE TIMES* the boycott—unprecedented for Los Angeles—is a result of Stevens' "failure to provide us with information about affirmative action" policies.

The action followed public testimony by Stevens workers complaining about racial and sexual discrimination.

Labor activists charge Stevens with assigning blacks and women the lowest paying, highest risk jobs.

Hollier said his board has "notified other city departments that they should be watchful to avoid buying J.P. Stevens products," but said the city's boycott could end "at any time" if Stevens provided satisfactory information about its labor practices.

Nationwide, boycotters are urging consumers to not buy Stevens products, including Utica sheets, Fire Arts sheets and Tastemaster brand towels.

Big Oil Day protests set for Oct. 17 at 45 cities

A national coalition of more than 200 citizens' and union groups and thousands of local organizations are planning to fill the streets, flood switchboards and make the news media blink Oct. 17 during a "Big Oil Protest Day" at 45 cities around the country.

Organizers are calling for an oil price rollback, investigation and prosecution of contrived shortages and price gouging and establishment of a taxpayer owned public energy corporation.

Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition executive director Heather Booth said the main thrust of the protest will be in Washington, with "substantial activity" in 20 cities.

The National Council of Senior Citizens is planning to demonstrate at Big Oil's lobbying headquarters—the American Petroleum Institute at Washington.

New York, Chicago, Cleveland, Los Angeles, San Francisco as well as Charleston, W.Va., and eight Florida cities are among the targets for marches, teach-ins, petition drives, congressional district meetings and the signature of "Big Oil Discredit" cards.

Demonstrations at Boston are planned to coincide with President Carter's Oct. 20 visit to the city.

Deng Xiaoping protestors face unusual jail sentences

Seventeen members and supporters of a Maoist group protesting Chinese Vice premier Deng Xiaoping's January visit to Washington face rioting and assault charges that could send some of the group to prison for up to 267 years.

Injuries from a Jan. 29 rock, bottle and club-swinging match with police near the White House left 38 demonstrators and 13 police hurt.

The fight broke out after a parade permit for the Revolutionary Communist Party's (RCP) protest of the "capitulation" of the new Chinese leadership to the U.S. and their "trampling of the teachings of Mao," according to RCP member Steve Mandell.

Police arrested 78 of the estimated 500 demonstrators, charging them with misdemeanors. Bond was set at \$300 by District of Columbia Superior Court Judge

Joseph Hannon.

The charges were drastically changed, however, after a courtroom appearance by former Watergate prosecutor U.S. Attorney Earl J. Silbert.

While some were released, 17 demonstrators, including RCP chairman Bob Avakian, 36, were each charged with 26 felony counts, including assault with deadly weapons. If convicted on all counts, Avakian and others could be sentenced to 267 years in prison.

According to the August issue of *Chicago Lawyer*, Silbert told a judge in a case involving another RCP incident that felony charges were in order rather than accepting misdemeanor pleas because "this same group planned and carried out still another activity embarrassing to the U.S. and Chinese governments on Jan. 29."

Wright wins, leftists lose

There was good news and bad news in the primary election results in New York City, Sept. 11.

Judge Bruce Wright won the Democratic nomination to an elected seat on the Manhattan Civil Court. Wright, an outspoken critic of police tactics and bail procedures used against blacks and poor people, had been tagged "Turn 'Em Loose Bruce" by the city's press and Mayor Ed Koch.

But Manhattan's powerful liberal wing of the Democratic party rallied to help the judge win the primary, which in this case is tantamount to election.

The Manhattan Civil Court handles more cases than any other single court in the world—over one million per year.

Wright said he hopes during his tenure he'll come to be known as "Civil Wright."

As the liberals were winning in Manhattan, the scandal-ridden Democratic

machine scored a major victory in the Bronx, where Stanley Simon won a four-way race for nomination for borough president. The race, conducted almost entirely on racial and ethnic lines, produced an unusual linkage between the apparently leftist New Alliance Party and a long-time Democratic regular, New York state senator Joe Galiber. Galiber came in last with 19,264 votes.

Galiber, the ranking Democrat on the powerful state Senate Judiciary Committee, is the state's senior black senator.

According to political insiders, he agreed to run on the New Alliance line in November as well as in the Democratic primary after the machine refused to hand him the nomination for borough president.

Galiber's race helped him gain support from many high black officials in New York. They saw his candidacy as an opportunity to place a black on the powerful New York City Board of Estimate (the body that approves all fiscal expenditures for the city) for the first time since 1977.

But Galiber's candidacy effectively robbed votes from the two liberal candi-

dates—state assemblyman Oliver Koppell and state housing commissioner Victor Marrero—and allowed conservative forces to win.

The combined final vote (in a record turnout) showed Bronx Democrats preferred liberal candidates. Of 90,000 Bronx ballots cast, Simon received 33 percent, with blacks and liberals polling a record 66 percent.

—Josh Martin

Christian council: US-PLO must talk

The National Council of Churches executive committee says it supports Andrew Young's work as United Nations ambassador and has once again called on the U.S. to open talks with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

Responding to the resolution, which cited "dialog as indispensable to peace" in the Mideast, American Jewish groups last week charged the church council "failed to face the moral and religious issue underlying America's no-talk policy with the terrorist PLO."

The council, representing 40 million members of 32 Protestant and Eastern Orthodox denominations, said, "We affirm the right of Israel to exist as a free nation within secure borders," adding that "we equally affirm the right of the Palestinian people to a self-determination and a national entity."

Church council spokesperson David Osborne told *IN THESE TIMES* the resolution was essentially the same as a 1974 call for Mideast reconciliation.

The council created a panel to study the question of U.S. diplomatic recognition of the PLO as legitimate representative of Palestinians, Osborne said a decision could not be expected for "months," however.

The Jewish groups, including the American Jewish Committee, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and the Synagogue Council of America, preconditioned U.S.-PLO contacts with the PLO's recognition of Israel's legitimacy as a nation state and an end to PLO terrorism.

In New York, the American Jewish Committee's Rabbi James A. Rudin, told *IN THESE TIMES* if the PLO were to meet the conditions—abandoning efforts to destroy the state of Israel—"it wouldn't be the PLO that we know today."

Rudin said a reassessment of the PLO would be in order before determining if the group should be allowed to negotiate for the Palestinian people.

Rudin said he did not believe the PLO represents the majority of Palestinians, and that "voices of moderation" among Palestinians are being "intimidated" in an atmosphere of PLO terrorism.

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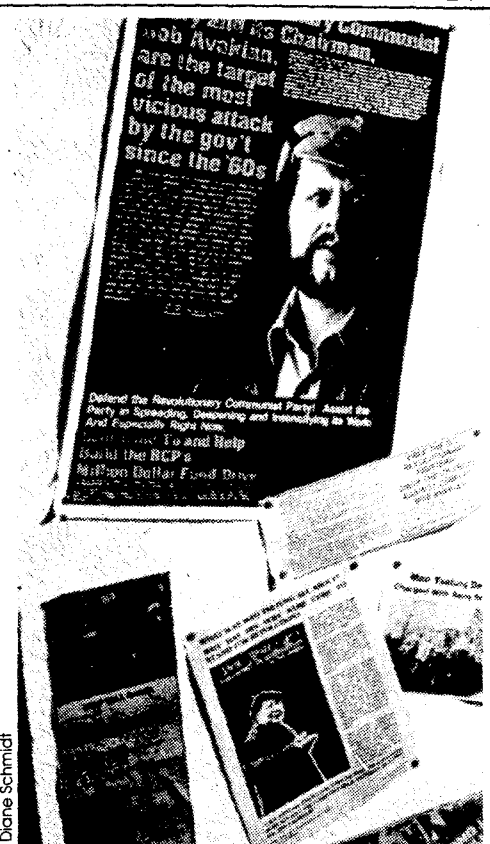
Sponsored by the Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition and the Progressive Alliance, the umbrella group—the Campaign for Lower Energy Prices—supporters include International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers union president William W. Winpisinger, United Auto Workers president Douglas Fraser and American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees union president Jerry Wurf.

Other supporters are Ralph Nader, Operation PUSH leader Jesse Jackson and DSOC.

Autoworkers got an early start in the campaign Aug. 22 when they wrote about four million protest letters during a brief work stoppage.

Winpisinger, who heads the Citizen/Labor group, cited predictions of mid-winter monthly home heating bills of \$400 in a call to fight "obscene" profits by the oil industry.

The Campaign for Lower Energy Prices is headquartered at 1300 Connecticut Avenue, Room 401, Washington, D.C. 20036. Their telephone number is 202/833-4296.



Diane Schmitt

IN THE NATION

NUCLEAR POWER



The cooling tower has cracked.

By David Mohrig

PORT GIBSON, MISS.

WHEN MISSISSIPPI POWER and Light started building its giant 2.5 million watt Grand Gulf nuclear power plant on the banks of the Mississippi River near this tiny, old town, the mainly black, mainly poor residents of the area thought it would bring jobs and prosperity.

Now five years later many of them are bitter and worried. The vast majority of the jobs went to outsiders, many of them skilled construction workers who move from one big site to another. Less than 20 percent of the workers on the plant are black, although three-fourths of the county is. Those who were lucky enough to get a job now are beginning to worry about where they will find something as good once construction ends—next year for the first unit, a few years later for the second—and the workforce shrivels to a few highly skilled engineers.

Now worries plagued them last spring after the shock of the Three Mile Island accident. Evan Doss, the county tax assessor and collector and second highest ranking county official, "got interested because there was no evacuation plan that would reach all of the individuals here," he says. "The Three Mile Island incident brought a lot of questions to my mind. When I asked, some people said, 'We're working on plans,' but we were just getting the runabout thing."

Doss now believes Grand Gulf should be shut down, and he was willing to join a June 2 rally of a new anti-nuclear movement in Mississippi to say that to an audience of around 400 that included many blacks. Mississippi would seem to many outsiders as the last place where anti-nuclear politics would have a chance, but the opposition to nuclear power and waste disposal is growing and picking up a wide assortment of supporters—including blacks, who have so far taken little interest in the issue elsewhere in the country.

The movement has also launched a campaign to elect a three-person slate to the state's Public Service Commission on a platform that is strongly anti-nuclear, both as a health and safety hazard and a bad economic decision. The slate, which includes Linda L. Lewis, an environmental activist, Ayres Haxton, a welding contractor and Sarah Johnson, a black city councilwoman from Greenville, also favors redesigning the rate structure to encourage conservation and help poor consumers, prohibiting fuel shut-offs in winter, and maintaining and expanding mass transit.

The three candidates try to meet head-on the common presumption that nuclear power means more jobs. They argue that the \$4 billion committed to the Port Gibson plant and to the Yellow Creek plant planned by the Tennessee Valley Authority in Luks could

James Miller, a resident of Port Gibson, is worried about Grand Gulf.

Nuclear plant in Mississippi draws black opposition

The promise of jobs for blacks has evaporated as construction of Grand Gulf on the Mississippi nears completion.

yield 200,000 jobs instead of less than 10,000 if invested in manufacturing and that money invested in energy-saving conservation would yield 18 times as many jobs as it would in nuclear power development.

James Miller, 30, a life-long resident of Port Gibson, has wrestled with these issues in a very personal way. Although he has worked with the Urban League to get more jobs for minorities at Grand Gulf, he is disappointed with the results, which are at best short-term.

But with Three Mile Island, questions about safety and proper evacuation procedures troubled him, and he began to read about nuclear power. He raised the issue in the local NAACP chapter, although the national NAACP and Urban League have both been generally pro-nuclear. They helped sponsor a public forum with a representa-

tive from Mississippi Power and Light, which attracted about 60 people, including many middle-aged whites.

"I acted out of a genuine concern," Miller says. "I'm actively recruiting people to work out there. So it affects my job, too."

Miller's concern spills over into the rest of his life. When he and some friends opened the newly refurbished Trace movie theater last June, their first double bill included *China Syndrome*, which drew a strong crowd.

Despite the initiative of people like Miller and Doss, most blacks in the area still don't see the issue as affecting them very much. "People my age have mixed emotions," Miller says, referring to the conflict between desire for jobs and concern for safety. "Some see it as a white folks' issue. But I think radiation crosses color lines."

A few black officials around the state have raised questions about nuclear safety, and the United League of Tupelo has invited an anti-nuclear speaker to one of its rallies and endorsed the anti-nuclear independent candidate for the Public Service Commission. But the campaign for the PSC posts may make the issue much more central and well-known, since otherwise the Nov. 6 ballot decisions are drawing little interest.

Linda Lewis, one of the candidates, became involved in opposition to nuclear power as an outgrowth of her interest in environmental protection. Then she and her husband, who was studying environmental law, visited the Grand Gulf plant and asked questions repeatedly. "As we left," she recalls, "the project engineer said, 'It's obvious you know more about this than I do.' That scared the hell out of us, 'cause we knew we didn't know anything.'"

Both Lewises were Sierra Club activists, and in 1977 she became involved with the formation of the Southeast Catfish Alliance, which now has spread to Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Tennessee and, this past spring, Mississippi.

Supporters have come from widely varied backgrounds, she says, but most are above average in education. Black political leaders are offering both her and Haxton help in their campaign, a sign that nuclear politics may be one of the few issues in Mississippi that does not split along racial lines, according to anti-nuke activist Ken Lawrence.

Haxton, who was aware of press reports on nuclear problems, first confronted Mississippi Power and Light after the company sprayed 2,4,5-T—the powerful herbicide known in Vietnam as "Agent orange"—over his house, killing his garden and endangering his pregnant wife. "If Mississippi Power and Light is doing something that irresponsible with their chemicals, I thought, it might carry over to their nuclear power," he says. Now he's finding surprising support for his criticisms, especially from "the poorer people, who are more willing to admit that the government and big industry might be part of something that's so bad."

Running with the slogan "independent of the Democrats and Republicans, independent of the utilities," the campaign will stress economic reasons for opposing nuclear power as much as safety considerations. They could give a boost to independent, left politics generally in the state, but they also see themselves as breaking new ground for the national anti-nuclear movement by testing out the possibilities of running anti-nuclear candidates for elected state regulatory commissions.

They are clearly underdogs, but with adequate funding, they believe their combination of popular issues could crystallize substantial support by November, especially because the incumbent board had been so sullied by charges of corruption and incompetence. (Their Mississippi Political Action Committee is located at P.O. Box 1151, Oxford, Miss. 38655.)

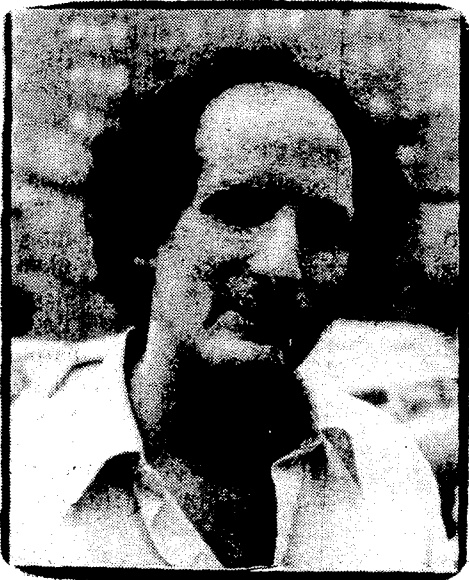
The anti-nuclear movement in the state has another continuing focus as well. In the area around Hattiesburg, there are three salt domes that are being considered as permanent nuclear waste disposal sites. Lou and Roseann Miron, and teacher and community action worker in Hattiesburg, formed Mississippians Against Disposal (MAD) last February, half a year after they began raising questions about the safety of the domes as nuclear dumps for the nation.

"We're trying to stop them at the tail end (of the nuclear fuel cycle) so it will force them to shut down," Lou says. "Most people in Hattiesburg wouldn't support you if you just say you want to shut down the nuclear plants." But many Hattiesburg citizens are concerned about safety, more of

Continued on page 6.

LABOR LAW

Massachusetts labor seeks repeal of Taft-Hartley



Steve Mann, chair of Repeal Committee.

By Steve Turner

LEGISLATION HAS BEEN INTRODUCED in Massachusetts that would require a year's advance notice, substantial severance awards and community reparations from corporations that layoff workers, shutdown plants and move out of state. Massachusetts is one of nine states around the country where legislation is being sought to fight runaway shops and prevent employers from displacing workers and eliminating tax bases.

Although the bill has been blocked in committee, it will be reintroduced in the fall legislative session.

The Committee to Repeal the Taft-Hartley Act has been formed in western Massachusetts in an effort to galvanize labor in the Northeast and to obtain the participation of national labor unions.

A coalition of 46 craft and industrial unions along with a sprinkling of community and socialist groups, the repeal committee plans a Sept. 29 demonstration at Springfield, Mass., a city hard hit by industrial shutdowns.

The committee has been endorsed by the Springfield-area labor council and the district councils of the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) and the Union of Electrical Workers (UE).

Passed in 1947 when organized labor was preparing for major unionization drives in the South, the Taft-Hartley Act was intended to inhibit the growth of the labor movement.

The law has proved to be an important factor in slowing unionization. Among other things, the act—

- authorized state right-to-work laws, prohibiting union shop contracts and other arrangements for union security in 20 states today,

- authorized employers to decertify unions,

- prohibited secondary boycotts and sympathy strikes,

- authorized injunctions to break "strikes during "national emergencies,"



- limited mass picketing and other strike demonstrations,

- prohibited strikes by federal employees and,

- required (until ruled unconstitutional) that union officials sign affidavits they are not now or ever were communists.

While efforts are being made to stop the attrition of Massachusetts' industrial base, a coalition of labor unions is attempting simultaneous erosion of labor's political strength by repealing the Taft-Hartley Act, a law that some labor leaders argue undermines labor's ability to cope with plant shutdowns and runaway shops.

"You've got to get to the source of the problem," said committee chair Steve Mann, a machinist at American Bosch Co. at Springfield and member of IUE Local 206. "It's the cheaper labor and the lack of unions in the South that draw most of the runaway shops and investment."

"It's the Taft-Hartley right-to-work laws and all the other anti-union tricks in the law that keep down wage rates and unionization there. Every part of that law was designed to undercut labor's strength and it's done a good job of that," Mann said.

Revitalization of labor's political power, as the committee sees it, will come most effectively from a direct attack on the act. The committee argues that the "struggle to unite workers behind repeal is a struggle both for unions for all workers and equality for all workers."

"These are two aspects of the same historic aspiration of the labor movement—to organize and unite all working people to fight for a decent life as the reward for honest labor," the committee said.

The committee maintains the bankers and industrialists are maneuvering to assure that workers will bear the full burden of the crisis while they retain their luxury and privilege.

"Nothing short of a full-scale campaign to educate, unite, and mobilize our fellow workers behind a strategy of counter attack can overcome the big business offensive," the repealers said.

According to Mann, "we have to tell our friends in the Democratic Party to decide whether they're really going to be our friends—and that's going to mean a commitment to repeal Taft-Hartley."

"The economy's not expanding any more and it's a time for new tactics. People who see that need in labor now are going to emerge as the leaders people will respect and follow," Mann said.

He said the Texas Farmworkers Union, the Labor Education Clearinghouse of New Mexico and a variety of anti right-to-work committees around the country are potential allies in the development of a national movement.

If the September rally generates substantial labor support in Massachusetts, Mann said the next goal will be regional demonstrations in May followed by a national network to raise the issue in 1980 political campaigns.

THE BATTLE OF CLEVELAND: Public Interest Challenges Corporate Power

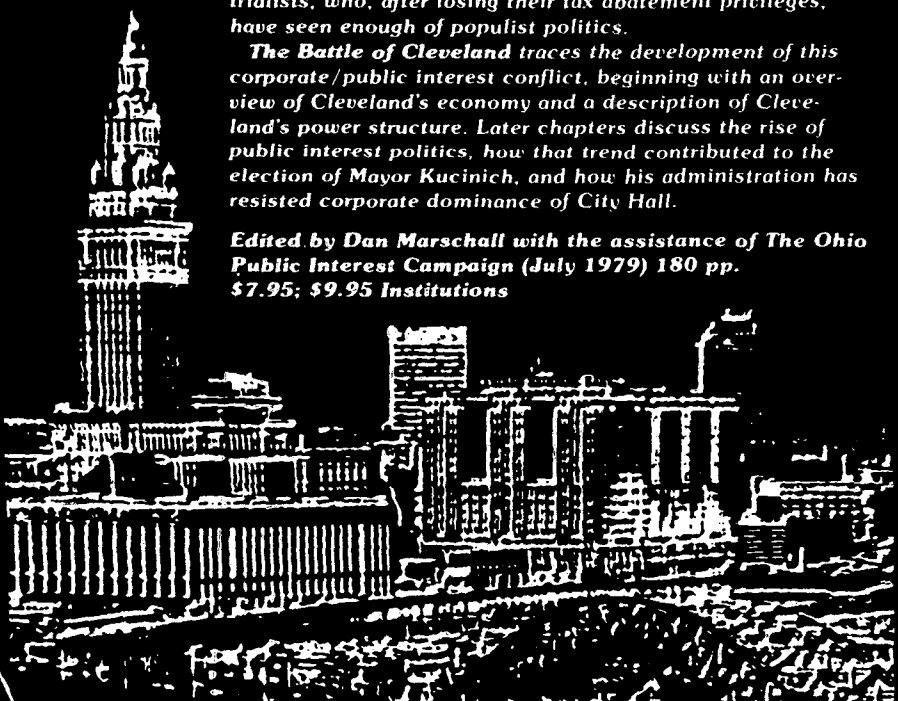
This is the story of a city and its Mayor in open conflict with the financial and corporate elite. At stake: who will really rule Cleveland and for whose benefit.

On the one side is a broad coalition of "New Urban Populists" led by Mayor Dennis Kucinich and organizations such as the Ohio Public Interest Campaign.

On the other is a powerful alliance of bankers and industrialists, who, after losing their tax abatement privileges, have seen enough of populist politics.

The Battle of Cleveland traces the development of this corporate/public interest conflict, beginning with an overview of Cleveland's economy and a description of Cleveland's power structure. Later chapters discuss the rise of public interest politics, how that trend contributed to the election of Mayor Kucinich, and how his administration has resisted corporate dominance of City Hall.

Edited by Dan Marshall with the assistance of The Ohio Public Interest Campaign (July 1979) 180 pp. \$7.95; \$9.95 Institutions



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Nukes

Continued from page 5.

the political and civil rights oriented people than the environmentalists, he says. About 25 people are active in MAD and another 200 are paying supporters.

Although the salt domes have been portrayed as dry, impenetrable, geologically unchanging fixtures, Miron cites U.S. Geological Survey expert David Stewart as saying that they are "not dry and not okay." The controversy over the safety of the domes, which has never been proven, blew up last spring when a biologist reported finding deformed animals near the Tatum dome, where the government had conducted nuclear tests many years ago. Investigations are still going on to see if the dome is leaking and causing harm.

So far MAD has attracted a great many women, and generally people in their '20s and '30s who are "middle class." Yet it has also won support from many of the small farmers near

the domes. Very few of the MAD supporters would consider themselves on the left, and many see opposition to nuclear power as a conservative, state's rights issue.

The image of nuclear power in Mississippi gradually is showing signs of faults, just like the big crack in the top of the Grand Gulf cooling tower that has become a symbol of the anti-nuclear movement. The huge chunk was blown out by a tornado in April 1978. The contractor insisted that the whole tower be rebuilt, but Mississippi Power and Light has hired another firm to patch it. Even if fixed, the plant will still be located in a major tornado zone and in an area where Mississippi River floods could hamper emergency access to the wells for cooling.

Three Mile Island, all the anti-nuke people agree, has made people worry much more about these problems. They are now trying to decide for themselves if nuclear power is worth the risk.

As James Miller observes, "The guy from Mississippi Power and Light said nuclear power is as safe as riding in a car, but the difference is that if I get in a car, I do it of my own free will."

By Roldo Bartimole

ELECTIONS

CLEVELAND

HAVING SURVIVED A RAZOR-thin recall a year ago, an unprecedented default in December and an attempt to take the city's municipal light plant in a February special election, Cleveland Mayor Dennis J. Kucinich opened his campaign for a second two-year term with a blistering attack on big business and the local news media.

"The people don't want any part of public officials who act as if they were elected to represent the oil companies, the utilities, the banks or any other giant corporation or the media or political bosses," said the 32-year-old Democrat.

Kucinich won office two years ago by campaigning to save the municipal light plant, end tax abatements and stop the sale of other city assets. Within a year, he fought to save his office, repelling a recall by less than 300 votes. Then, within six months, he again faced voters and won a convincing 2-to-1 victory to block the sale of the city-owned electric system and raise the payroll tax .5 percent to fight a financial pinch.

Kucinich now faces four opponents in a non-partisan primary Oct. 2—Democratic State Sen. Charles Butts and city council majority leader Basil Russe, Republican Lt. Gov. George Voinovich and Socialist Workers Party candidate Thabe Ntweng.

Ed Feighan, a Democrat who came within 3,000 votes of beating Kucinich in 1977 and who polls showed ahead of the mayor this year, dropped out of the race after becoming ill. That left party Democrats who have opposed Kucinich without a candidate.

Most political observers feel the primary survivors will be Kucinich and Voinovich. Both have strong support among white ethnic voters. The winners face off Nov. 6.

Voinovich, 43, is frankly pro-business and will be well-financed by corporate interests. Memos have already gone out to corporations and law firms appealing for financial help.

Voinovich usually gets strong support from conservative elements of Cleveland's steel and iron ore interests. Usually a vigorous campaigner, he seems to be

Kucinich faces stiff test in Cleveland's mayoral election



Mayor Dennis Kucinich's (left) main opponent is Lt. Gov. George Voinovich (right).

holding back from personal appearances, relying instead on a reported \$150,000 radio and television campaign. He has been criticized for his slow start, with the *Cleveland Press* remarking a month after his candidacy announcement that the campaign "has yet to get off the ground."

Kucinich, who also is expected to have a handsome campaign treasury, is bolstered by an incumbent's advantages and a Helen Reddy concert. Already, about 250 campaign workers are trekking through the northeast Ohio industrial city's neighborhoods, passing out literature and bumper stickers as part of Ku-

cinich's grassroots approach.

The bumper stickers—"Stand Up With Kucinich"—are a message he hopes will remind voters he has stood up to special interests.

Kucinich's populist posture and strong rhetorical attacks on business have made him anathema to nearly all traditional institutions in Cleveland, including the news media. A communications major in college, Kucinich wrote his thesis on confrontation politics. His opponent is expected to receive the endorsements of the city's major dailies—the *Press* and *Plain Dealer*—which endorsed him two years ago.

To counter what Kucinich cites as editorial opposition and hostile news coverage, he has put the news media on notice that their coverage will be included in his campaign attacks. Two reporters resigned after conflict over coverage of the administration during the past year.

"I know that when the people get one story after another on a daily basis, which rips our administration, it's very hard for them to know whether or not the charges have any substance. But I predict that the frenzy will mount to a point and the shrillness will be so deafening that the very charges, the very attacks promulgated at the behest of special interests by the media will be self-refuting," Kucinich said in his candidacy declaration speech. The speech was carried live by Cleveland's three major television stations during the evening news period.

Kucinich may be hurt by his refusal to make a statement for peaceful integration during Cleveland's first experience with court-ordered busing. Although the school system operates independently from city hall, the mayor's refusal to speak against violence revives concern over his spotty record on racial matters. His brother, Gary, who often speaks for the mayor from his post as a city councilmember, appeared at an anti-busing rally and equated the group's opposition to busing with his brother's anti-corporate battles.

The mayor also faces continuing financial problems. The city has yet to pay off about \$14 million in defaulted loans. Recently, the city defaulted a second time on \$3.3 million in notes held by the city's water fund. While political opponents have helped to keep the city in default, the latest failure to pay off notes may cost the city its water system. The city is now fighting a court attempt by suburbs to regionalize the water system. Suburbs charge fiscal mismanagement has endangered the viability of the \$500 million system. A judgement before the election could have a major impact on the outcome, but it may be difficult to determine who it will hurt. Voters could hold Kucinich responsible or agree with the mayor that such a move is another example of special interests banding together against the mayor's strong stand.



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SEPARATIST MOVEMENTS



Puerto Rican nationalists freed

By Ramon E. Daubon

WASHINGTON

ON SEPT. 8 THE WHITE HOUSE granted clemency to four Puerto Rican nationalists in prison in the U.S. since the early '50s. The clemency order, long an underlying political issue in Puerto Rico, was not requested by Lolita Lebron, Rafael Cancel-Miranda, Oscar Collazo or Irving Flores-Rodriguez, who refused to recognize their actions as a crime. The four considered the attack on Blair House and the House of Representatives to have been an act of rebellion against a colonial power that for over 50 years had effectively closed peaceful avenues for the emancipation of their country.

When Oscar Collazo, the oldest and longest imprisoned of the four, was asked if he felt gratitude toward President Carter, he said "I will be grateful to President Carter when the last American soldier leaves Puerto Rico—not before."

But what effect the romantic image of these unrepentant warriors will have on Puerto Rico's internal politics, the island's relationship with the U.S. or the image of the latter as a colonial power,



Freed Puerto Rican nationalists (from left behind microphone cord) Rafael Cancel-Miranda, Irving Flores-Rodriguez (with glasses) Lolita Lebron and Oscar Collazo (behind Lebron) spoke to about 500 supporters outside a Chicago church.

remains to be seen. In Puerto Rico, the general response to the news has been favorable—divided among those who will receive the four as heroes, those who admire their bravery and commitment to an ideal, even if disagreeing with their political views, and those who simply feel the four have had enough punish-

ment—that they've paid their debt.

Supporters of Puerto Rican independence who clamored for the release of the four were recently joined by followers of all political persuasions who termed their imprisonment a human rights issue. Other political groups argued clemency would demonstrate that justice

had been served.

The federal and Puerto Rican local government both presented clemency as a call for justice that had been heeded.

But there has been opposition to the release. The present pro-statehood governor of the U.S. island has voiced strong warnings against the danger of letting "unrepentant criminals" loose to prey again on a tolerant society. He has always insisted on the State and Justice departments' former position—the four should only be released after admitting their guilt and promising to repent.

The return of the four will probably have little impact on island politics. Pro-commonwealth forces, not the independence movement, have emerged as the present government's most immediate enemies. It is unlikely the pro-independence movement will become a serious electoral challenge in the near future.

The independence movement had considerable support in the '40s and '50s, but 81 years of colonization has precluded the movement from winning a majority. True, these four are not ordinary people. They have shown uncommon zeal and courage and now possess long histories of personal sacrifice—the stuff heroes are made of. But despite their personal example, general consensus in Puerto Rico is that their release will have little effect on the outcome of the proposed 1981 statehood plebiscite. If anything, the clemency will aid pro-statehood forces.

Public opinion in Puerto Rico has long supported freedom for the four. But appeals for their release in Puerto Rico and international forums fell on deaf ears. For several years, the Cuban government hinted at exchanging political prisoners but received no response from Washington. The position of the State and Justice departments was firm—an acknowledgement of guilt and request for pardon by the four was prerequisite for commutation of sentences.

But things changed in the past year.

The Cuban proposal to the United Nations' Decolonization Committee demanding self-determination for Puerto Ricans, which had been unsuccessfully presented year after year, was approved last year in modified form and will be voted on again this year.

It was not accidental that the White House announced the clemency on the day the Puerto Rican delegate was scheduled to speak to the non-aligned nations' conference in Havana and repeat demands for freedom. Even if the four refused to ask for pardon, others were asking on their behalf. Suddenly, that became all that was needed.

Ramon E. Daubon is a Puerto Rican economist now living in Washington, D.C.

QUEBEC

Quebec debates nationalism, left begs question

By Henry Milner

MONTREAL

IN LATE JUNE, RENE LEVESQUE, Prime Minister of the province of Quebec, announced that the referendum on Quebec sovereignty association will take place in the spring of 1980.

Sometime in the fall, the Quebec government will introduce a white paper followed by legislation that will set in motion the process leading up to the referendum. It will set out the wording of the referendum as well as the mechanism for its staging. Quebecers will be asked to support the Parti Quebecois (PQ) government's goal of a politically sovereign Quebec in a customs and monetary union with Canada. After debate in the Quebec National Assembly and a period of preparation, the 32-day referendum debate will take place—probably in May 1980.

Leading the opposing forces is a new leader of the provincial Liberal Party, Claude Ryan, a former publisher of the highly respected Montreal daily, *Le Devoir*. Rather than defending the status

quo, Ryan is searching for an alternative to sovereignty-association, which would keep Quebec in Canada but nonetheless gain additional powers for the province. Ryan terms his proposal a "renewed federalism," but has admitted that its specifics will not be made public until February 1980.

Ryan knows that the majority of Quebecers reject the status quo, but might look favorably on proposals for gaining significant new powers for Quebec without necessarily rupturing the Canadian federal state. However he will be hard pressed to come up with a proposal that would satisfy Quebec's national aspirations and at the same time be endorsed by the new Conservative government in Ottawa and provincial leaders in the other (English speaking) provinces. In principle, any powers granted to one province are granted to all. It seems unlikely that leading political figures in other provinces would be willing to grant Quebec significant powers not accorded to their legislatures. On the other hand, granting to all the provincial legislatures complete jurisdiction over immigration, agriculture and fisheries, communications and social welfare as well as in-

creased access to revenues, as Quebec is likely to demand, would fragment an already highly decentralized constitutional structure.

Although generally conceding Quebec's right to self-determination, English Canadian politicians regularly warn economic association with a sovereign Quebec is out of the question. Quebecers maintain that English Canada will have no choice but to negotiate an economic association in the face of a "yes" vote.

Already the various groups that comprise Quebec society are lining up in preparation for the vote. Business organizations, which are still run by Anglophones, are generally opposed to an independent Quebec. The traditional institutional and local establishments in municipal administrations, school boards and voluntary organizations are largely opposed to independence. On the other hand, the great bulk of the artistic and cultural community of Quebec is rallying to the side of sovereignty-association. The same seems to be the case for the intellectual and professional communities.

The left holds back.

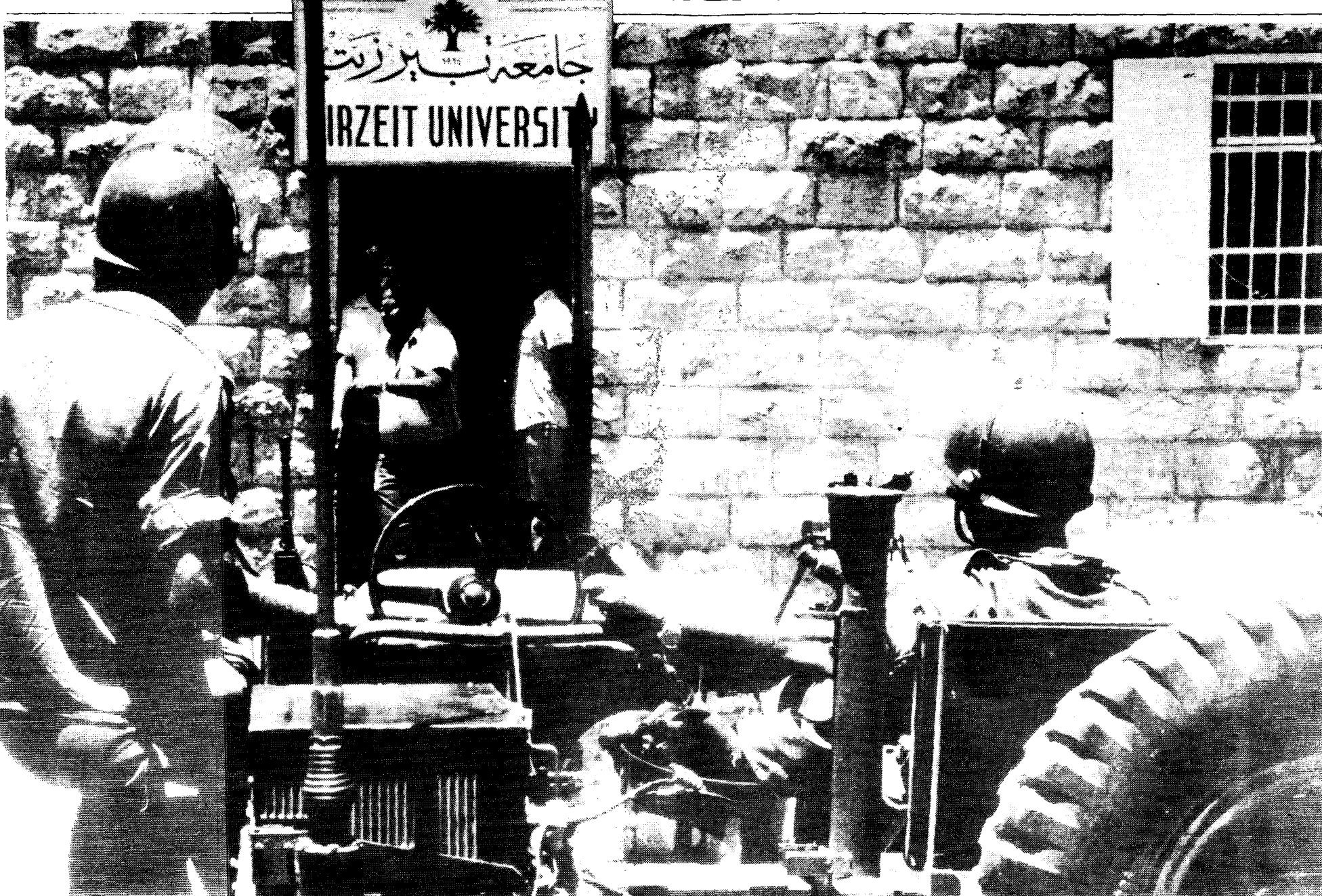
As far as the trade unions are concerned,

there is a widespread sympathy among the members but the unions have generally steered clear of formally endorsing the independent option. The reason for this caution is that the most militant of Quebec's unions are in the public and para public sectors, which are presently engaged in difficult contract negotiations with the government. They are loathe to strengthen the hand of the government during this difficult bargaining process. In addition, these militant unions are under pressure from Marxist-Leninist elements within them to steer clear of any association with the PQ, which they denounce as petty bourgeois. These elements have not only denounced the social policies of the Quebec government as insufficient, but have attacked the entire project of Quebec Independence as being opposed to the interests of the workers.

Ironically, the upshot of this situation is that while Quebec workers and progressive groups generally will be voting yes and constitute the bulk of support for the independence option, the sectarian anti-PQ rhetoric has served to mute the left during the debate over the national

Continued on page 10.

MIDDLE EAST



Israeli soldiers closed Bir Zeit University on the West Bank after Palestinian students battled soldiers on Israel's Independence Day.

University closed, Palestinians tried

By David Mandel

JERUSALEM

HUNDREDS OF PALESTINIANS, mostly women, squatted under the hot morning sun in the courtyard of the military government house in Ramallah. The solid, four-story concrete building has been staffed by British, Jordanian and now Israeli soldiers. Its various wings house offices that must be visited for purposes of work, travel, health, social welfare and, of course, anything defined as "security."

A side entrance to the building bears a small sign: "Military Court, Ramallah Area." Inside are two small courtrooms. One contained eight prisoners about to be tried, all young Palestinian men, ranging in age from about 16 to 22. The other room was full of anxious relatives, and soldiers were relieving the overcrowding by shoving younger and more distant relatives back into the sun.

The first two defendants were brought in. They were charged with meeting with Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) leaders abroad, attempting to form an illegal organization and conspiracy to engage in violent activity. Prior to the trials, they had pleaded not guilty, but now, a deal had apparently been worked out. Defense lawyers announced that the men would confess to the first two charges and the uniformed prosecutor quickly added that he would not press the third for "lack of proof." He asked for jail sentences "of suitable length, according to the discretion of the judge."

Defense counsel cited similar cases in which "underage" had been lenient and asked that the youngest three months' imprisonment while awaiting trial be considered sufficient. The young men asked for "justice and mercy."

A judge presiding over the trial, then read it—four months, plus two-year suspended sentences, to be activated automatically in case of any future convictions. Relatively light and systematic. The whole trial

took no more than 45 minutes.

Estimates of the number of Palestinian young men in the West Bank and Gaza Strip arrested and detained since 1967 run as high as 60 percent of the population in that age-sex group.

The next six, facing similar charges, were led in. Counsel for both sides asked the judge for 10 minutes to consult and frank but amiable negotiations for a similar settlement began. The lawyers debated whether the rusty Jordanian guns the youths had found could be considered "possession of weapons."

But I hadn't come to watch the trials of these young would-be patriots, or terrorists, depending on one's point of view. Seven other Palestinians were to face the judge that day, charged with "interfering with public order" during the May 2 demonstration at Bir Zeit, a nearby college town.

The seven waited outside, sweating—it was the hottest day so far this summer. They had been out on \$1,200 bail each since late May after being held for several weeks. Four were students at Bir Zeit University, called a "hostile institution" by the authorities and forcibly closed for two months after the demonstration. Two were high school pupils from the town and one a worker in Jerusalem who had been home with the day off—it had been Israel Independence Day when the events leading to their arrest and trial occurred.

The demonstration in May.

The university had been in session on May 2, but high school pupils held a march against the Israeli occupation through the sleepy town of 2500, as did many others throughout the West Bank. At the same time, several thousand pro-settlement Israelis were spending the holiday demonstrating in West Bank fields and villages to the northeast. A few Israeli cars passed through Bir Zeit on their way.

Some stones were thrown at the cars by the young demonstrators. Shots were fired in response and a Bir Zeit student, who says he was sitting by the campus

before his 11 a.m. class, was shot in the chest. A Tel Aviv University professor was reported to have done the shooting, but neither he nor anyone else was arrested.

A crowd gathered and a few minutes later more Israeli vehicles appeared. There was more shooting, but no injuries. License plate numbers were recorded to no avail. Soldiers also arrived and forced students to clear a barricade from the street. The cars drove away.

University vice-president Gabi Baramki (the president was expelled from the country in 1974) tried to call the military governor to defuse the situation by asking permission to send the students home. The governor was off for the day, Baramki was told. But half an hour later another officer called and ordered him to see that Palestinian flags that had appeared on top of the college's women's dormitory and its cafeteria were removed.

The flags stayed. Tear gas and bullets flew into the campus, and stones flew out. Soldiers finally forced their way in and removed the flats. An ABC-TV camera recording the battle was confiscated.

Finally, according to a chronology of the day's events published by the university, the students, many of whom live in Ramallah or Jerusalem, were allowed to head for home by bus. But a total of 152 were "identified" by soldiers at the edge of town as having thrown stones. Their identity cards were taken and they were ordered to report for interrogation the next day. Fifty were held for at least several days, and seven eventually charged. The university was closed, and, on May 3, searched by Israeli officers. They found no weapons nor any "subversive" leaflets.

The events of May 2-3 were not really very unusual for the occupied West Bank of 1979. Stone-throwing at soldiers has become a Palestinian national sport. A similar incident in March during Jimmy Carter's visit left a Bir Zeit student and three local residents wounded by gunfire and the campus was closed for a week. Similar incidents occurred in Haifa, Ramallah, Hebron, Bethlehem,

East Jerusalem and elsewhere.

But lately, the authorities have clearly decided to crack down on educational institutions. Bethlehem University held a solidarity demonstration with Bir Zeit on May 3. The army invaded, arrested 50 students and the school was closed for four days. Five other high schools and teachers' colleges were closed for between 15 days and eight weeks, and besides Bir Zeit, three more institutions remained shut down through the end of the academic year.

Academic harassment continues.

Even while it was open, Bir Zeit University faced growing harassment over the last year. Classes were suspended by military order twice before and it was difficult to get residency permits for foreign teachers. Several were forced to leave. The education department was prevented from sending student teachers into West Bank government schools. The university had to pay high taxes and customs duties from which Israeli and Jordanian institutions are exempt. About 25 others were arrested in January for speaking and writing their opinions against Camp David. Some are still in jail.

Conversations with students and faculty reveal an avid dedication to academic study. Special classes in various locations were organized for final-year students to enable them to graduate despite the campus' closure.

But there is no doubt about the students' high level of political awareness. Like most of the West Bank population, they openly profess support of the PLO as the Palestinians' political representative, and reject the separate Israel-Egypt peace with its autonomy which they consider to be a pretense for continued occupation. Perhaps it is the students' ability to articulate these feelings and their potential intellectual leadership that worries the authorities.

The Israeli—and Egyptian and U.S.—governments may also be concerned that a disproportionate number of Bir Zeit

Continued on page 18.

SOUTHEAST ASIA

Vietnam refugees result of U.S. policy



Policeman guards a Vietnamese refugee camp in Kuantan, Malaysia.

By John Ogulnik

SAN FRANCISCO

IN A SPEECH TO THE COMMONwealth Club Sept. 7 Rep. George Miller (D-Calif.), who recently returned from a Congressional fact finding tour into the refugee problem in Southeast Asia, blamed U.S. policies for the exodus of the boat people from Vietnam.

Miller said "the condition of Vietnam today is an outgrowth of three decades of war and mammoth destruction. The continuing flight of the refugees is inevitably linked to the devastation of and hopelessness of the local economy."

Flying into Hanoi gave Miller an idea of just how much damage the American bombing of the countryside inflicted on Vietnam. He described the result as he saw it from his plane window. "I observed a country whose cratered countryside looked like the far side of the moon, where transportation was primitive or non-existent, where destitution has become a normal way of life."

Miller said he has several suggestions that he plans to present to President Carter to help the Vietnamese government stem the flow of refugees leaving their homes for the seas.

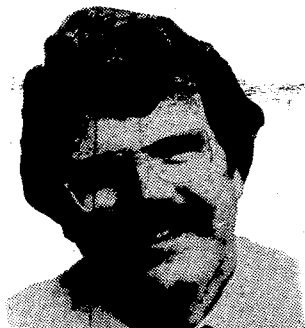
He called for an end to the trade embargo imposed on Vietnam after the U.S. supported Thieu government fell in 1975. Lifting the embargo would not require "any form of direct assistance" he said, but "investment and trade can help establish an economic foundation for that country and will stimulate the creation of jobs which will reduce the pressures from which hundreds of thousands have fled, and from which millions more may still try to escape."

Miller told the audience that neither the U.S., nor the other nations of the world can assimilate those millions who may eventually leave if the U.S. does not aid Vietnam. "I believe we must seize the opportunity to initiate policies which will reduce the enormous pressures within Vietnam," he said.

When asked if U.S. policy is ruining the Vietnamese economy, making it difficult for the government to continue in power Miller replied that "it's clear that that's the direction the policy is taking," and he added that "our failure to speak out against the potential Chinese invasion is doing the same thing."

In response to a question from the audience, Miller said the continued threat of another Chinese invasion destabilizes

Representative George Miller, who toured Vietnam and Southeast Asia said that the boat people were a consequence of U.S. foreign policy moves.



the whole northern part of the country.

The liberal Democrat, who represents the Contra Costa suburbs east of San Francisco, said he supports loans, indirect assistance and multilateral aid to Vietnam. Miller thinks that the reparations promised by the Nixon administration is a dead issue. First, he points out that the Vietnamese have dropped their claim for the \$2.5 billion. Also, Miller said "I think the issue is so unacceptable in this country that it bars us from doing anything."

Miller also criticized his Congressional colleagues in the Senate for passing a bill sponsored by Senator Edward Kennedy that would provide approximately \$500 million in refugee aid, while at the same time the House voted to spend about \$250 million, also for refugee aid. It wasn't the aid that bothered Miller. He thinks the U.S. should help those already in refugee camps, but he thinks the refugee aid was wrong while also refusing "a couple of million dollars" in direct multinational aid to Vietnam.

Quebec referendum set

Continued from page 8.

question. This means there will be little direct left participation in the discussion and that the context of the public debate will be defined by the PQ and its enemies to its right.

Left organizations and trade unions spend a great deal of time and energy denouncing the PQ for not going far enough with social and economic policies, but make little or no effort to defend those policies when they are attacked by business elements on the right.

By U.S. and European standards, PQ reforms in the areas of anti-scab legislation, job safety, minimum wage policy, guaranteed income and minimal working conditions are substantial. Yet there has been little attempt by the left constituency to counter the attacks on these government policies or the taxation methods introduced to pay for them—such as plugging traditional business loopholes and placing a surtax on higher incomes—that have been vociferously attacked by the right.

The left has also been silent about the

government's attempt to nationalize the Asbestos Corporation. Asbestos Corp. is the second largest Quebec producer of raw asbestos, which is mined in the region about 100 miles to the east of Montreal. General Dynamics of the U.S. owns 55 percent of Asbestos Corp.

Asbestos is one of the major industries in Quebec, supplying 85 percent of the West's production. The industry is almost entirely foreign owned, creates relatively few jobs and little wealth in Quebec. This is because Asbestos Corp. and others ship raw asbestos to the U.S. and Western Europe where it is manufactured into asbestos products.

The PQ government planned not only to buy the Asbestos Corp. but also to develop an asbestos processing plant in Quebec itself. Unfortunately, Asbestos refused to sell.

The company's stubborn opposition to any kind of takeover has continued for over a year. First, the price of shares was raised to more than double the market price and well beyond the assessed value. On that basis the company flatly

rejected the bid of the Quebec government. Finally, while not ruling out an 11th hour settlement, the government introduced the legislation necessary for nationalizing the company.

Before adjourning in June the Quebec National Assembly adopted the legislation. At that point, Asbestos Corp. proceeded to a second level of opposition, turning to the courts to block the nationalization. Lawyers for Asbestos asserted that Quebec acted illegally.

The company argued nationalization attempts seriously harmed Asbestos's competitive position (an argument hard to reconcile with the company's record profits for the first six months of 1979), claimed that the law exceeded the jurisdiction of the provincial government, and asserted that the law was unconstitutional because it was written only in French.

The case has served to illustrate the limitations of Quebec's control over its natural resources and has raised the sovereignty-association question in a dramatic way. Unfortunately, the failure of the left and the trade unions to directly involve themselves in the national debate has prevented them from pressing for nationalization of Asbestos Corp.

Miller warned that eventually refugee aid would end up costing billions of dollars. In contrast, lifting the trade embargo, and other forms of relief would cost much less, according to Miller.

Discussions with Malaysian, Indonesian and United Nations officials led Miller to believe that the role of the 7th Fleet in rescuing refugees stranded at sea "exacerbates" the problem. People considering leaving Vietnam "think that if they can get to the 7th Fleet, they're home free in America." And since the Vietnamese government agreed at the Geneva Conference, earlier in the summer, to try to stem the flow of refugees, "we ought to at least reduce the publicity of what the fleet is doing."

Miller was asked about claims by Joan Baez and others that there is widespread torture and thousands of political prisoners in Vietnam. He said when he left for South East Asia he agreed with the State Department that the refugees "were the victims of religious and political persecution."

But, in talking with refugees awaiting relocation in refugee camps he learned differently. "Many of the people said time and time again 'I am a merchant, I am not a farmer. You have to work too hard in the new economic zones,' or 'I am a student, I am not a farmer. You have to work like a buffalo!'"

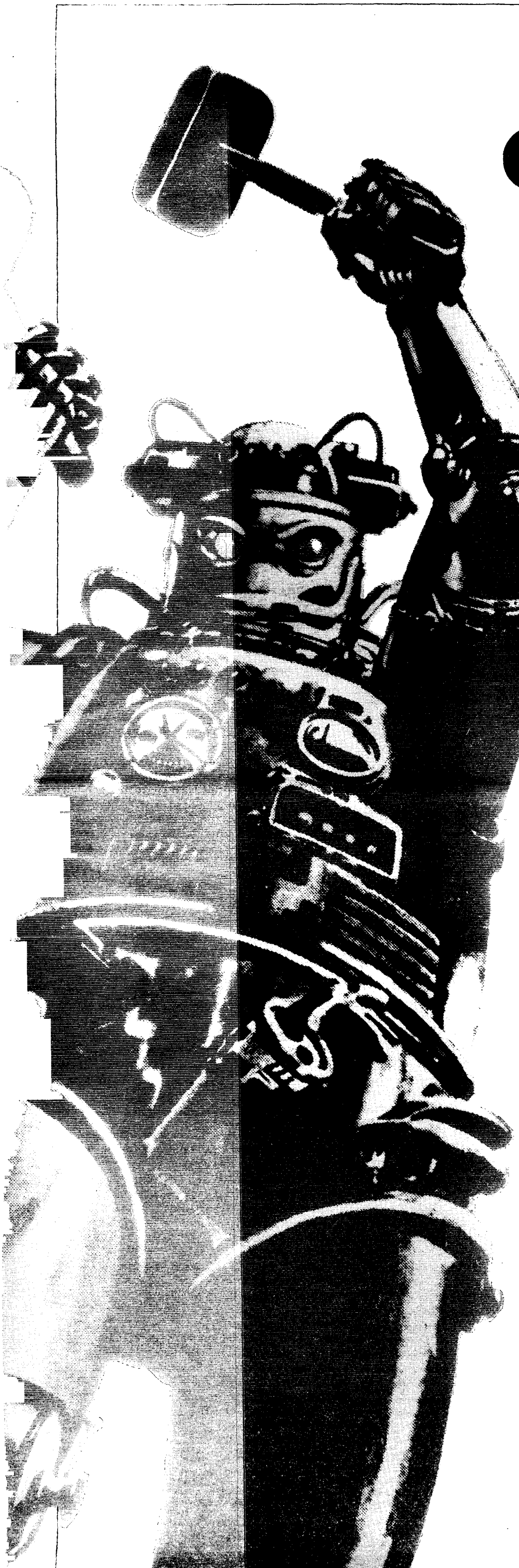
Miller added that "almost everybody we interviewed was directly involved with our war effort in Vietnam, and so there are some motives for leaving."

Miller said he did not believe that torture was widespread enough to justify the numbers of people who are leaving. "I can only draw conclusions from what I saw, and what my colleagues saw. I draw into serious question the very broad charges of this Nazi Germany mentality that was supposed to exist."

Miller was not completely cheery about life in Vietnam. He called its leaders "tough, hardened and callous, tempered by thirty years of war. They are determined to survive." And he added that the "redirection of the policy which I am recommending, is not one of support for the government of Vietnam, rather, it is one of compassion for the people of that war torn region of the world."

Life was especially hard in the new economic zones, areas established by the government for agricultural production. He said many people may have starved to death, or been caught in floods in the zones. Miller's call for aid to Vietnam, he hopes, will mitigate the economic conditions that have made life so harsh.

John Ogulnik is a news reporter for KPFA in Berkeley, California.



THE COMPUTER FACTORY AND THE ROBOT WORKER

BY DAVID MOBERG

*In the year of eighteen and one....
Peggin' shoes was all I done.
They've invented a new machine....
Prettiest little thing you've ever seen.
Makes one hundred pairs to my one....
Peggin' shoes it ain't no fun.
Throw away my pegs, my pegs,
my pegs, my awl*

—“Peg and Awl,” Carolina Tar Heels,
recorded in 1929

THERE IS A DARK SIDE OF CAPITALISM'S history of continual invention of new ways of producing more things quicker and cheaper. It includes a long record of disruption of workers' lives as they were pushed out of their old jobs and denied use of their skills, which were made obsolete by the new methods of manufacture.

There have been skirmishes—and some prolonged battles—against these social eruptions, but the defensive battles have rarely held back the tide of technological change bringing both its good and bad effects. Indeed, much of the leadership of the labor movement in the U.S. has come to an uncomfortable accommodation: progress can't be stopped, but workers should share in the new wealth with more money, benefits and—at least in theory—time off from work. With broad and basic “managerial prerogatives” firmly established now in most union contracts, technological change is accepted as the business of businessmen. Workers scramble to adapt.

Yet the experience of many workers—and the recent research of many leftist historians—suggests that the new technologies introduced by management are not always the neutral, objectively best way of producing efficiently. Often the choice is shaded as well by management's search for ways to control the workers and to reduce their power in the factory. Henry Ford's famous assembly line was not simply an efficient way to bring materials to the worker. It was also an effective way of mechanically controlling the pace of work. It also further reduced the skills—and power that goes with it—of workers who built the cars.

Now, as the accompanying article by Harley Shaiken and the interview with skilled trades leaders Al Gardner and Pete Kelly suggest, the auto industry is undergoing a new transformation of manufacturing techniques. Other industries as well are expected to undergo radical change as microprocessors and mini-computers play an increasing role in the organization of work. They extend and make more flexible the kind of mechanical control of work represented by the assembly line (“technical con-

trol,” in the words of economist Richard Edwards). Computer-based technology also gives new, technical force to systems of bureaucratic control in large corporations.

The threat of large-scale technological unemployment may or may not materialize. That depends on more than the automation—for example, market demand, international trade, distribution of income or population growth. The prospect of tighter, more sophisticated, centralized control seems virtually certain.

Contesting computer control.

Demands that the United Auto Workers have presented in the current contract negotiations may turn out to be the opening salvo in a prolonged battle by labor to gain more control over the new computer technologies. Although the union is still pushing for reduced work time to spread jobs as productivity increases steadily reduce the number of hours of labor needed per car (now around 115 hours or less total for the average car), it is no longer content to acknowledge management's absolute right to introduce new manufacturing methods in any manner. The fight, however, is not against computers, robots and other new techniques, since the UAW strongly supports ways to increase productivity. Rather, the demands aim to give workers tools to prevent the new technology from being used to dominate them and deprive them of skills and power.

In the demands presented to Ford—which are stronger than those originally made at GM, the target company—the union emphatically “draws a distinction between management's legitimate right to collect production data, and the use of the computer and factory management systems to monitor and control workers. The Union, therefore, demands that no computer system be installed in a way that makes possible the time-study, monitoring, or discipline of UAW-Ford workers.” The union also demands advance notice—in clear language—of new systems at the same time as operating management. It wants to be involved in negotiation at the stage of design and implementation.

Together these two proposals represent a significant incursion into the jealously guarded management rights clause. They put constraints—both a principled limitation on the design of the technology and a formal requirement to negotiate—on the new systems of production.

The demand for more than notification—and for notification as early as plant managers receive it—is presumably particularly troublesome to manage-

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MOBERG

Continued from page 11.

ment, because it also stipulates that the issues are to be negotiated. "It's one thing to have to inform people," Paul F. Guy, director of Ford's Manufacturing Engineering and Systems Office, said. "It's another to have to bargain about it."

Keeping workers skilled.

The union also demands that the skills required by this new computer-based technology become the property of union members. Traditional skills would have to remain within the bargaining unit. An electrician, for example, would continue to diagnose problems with machinery—not an engineer or other management representative. Programming and editing of numerical control tapes (for automatic metal-cutting machines), robots and all other "programmable automation" would be in the hands of blue-collar workers, including work on machines that are leased or under warranty (where management now often insists that white-collar employees must have responsibility).

These provisions, along with a demand for adequate training, as jointly determined by the union and company, would assure workers that they would lose neither the skill nor power they now have, even though the nature of their work would change.

To guarantee that these guidelines are followed, the union proposes creation of a "data committeeman," who would be elected like other union committee representatives. The data committeeman would monitor all new machines and systems, reporting to the international union, and educating members.

Five Ford executives and five international UAW representatives would also constitute a National Joint Committee on New Technology to review information and make decisions on cases appealed from local factories. If the committee cannot reach a decision within 30 days, the union can authorize a strike.

The proposals also include demands for reduced worktime, layoffs only through attrition and protection for displaced workers as a first claim against productivity gains. The most radical departure, however, is the push for union control over the nature and use of the new technology that will be rapidly introduced in the next five to ten years.

Lessons from Europe.


Some European unions have already pushed ahead on this front. A Norwegian plan at a large metalworking factory was a major inspiration for the UAW proposals, and Norway generally has been a model for other European unions. Also, Italian metalworkers won in 1973 the right to information about and inspection of management plans for changes in technologies and work organization. In many instances, local unions or work committees have drawn up counterplans for use of new technologies.

The result of these agreements offers some dramatic contrasts. At the Kongsberg Wapenfabrik in Norway, where there are "data agreements" and a "data committeeman," workers on the floor move easily from mechanical tasks to editing and programming at minicomputers on the plant floor, according to David Noble, author of *America By Design*, who recently visited the factory. However, at a computerized factory in Lynn, Mass., Noble says, the controls are locked up and only the supervisory staff can get at them. In Norway the workers had control over their computer based technology, but in Massachusetts the machines—and management—were in control.

Workers in Norway constantly reminded Noble, however, that "there is an ongoing struggle to get this information...Agreements are no substitute for that ongoing struggle."

Labor's shifting fortunes.

During the nineteenth century, workers in U.S. factories waged prolonged struggles to defend shop rules, traditions and mutual codes of conduct that were based on their crafts—whether traditional or newly developed with modern industry. Craft control was the basis of the skilled workers' power, and in defending their



THE BRAVE NEW WORLD OF WORK IN AUTO

BY HARLEY SHAIKEN

DETROIT

THE AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY is entering the computer age. Challenged by international competition, rising gas prices, and federal regulations demanding more efficient cars, U.S. manufacturers have undertaken a vast reworking of their factories that *Automotive Industries* calls a "hundred billion dollar sweepstakes." That transformation is bringing more than smaller, more efficient cars and higher productivity. It is bringing computers and robots to every corner of the factory and with them a change in work as far-reaching as Henry Ford's original assembly line.

craft they were also defending a particular technology. As in the case of the famous Luddite machine-breakers earlier in England, it was generally true that defense of attack on particular technologies was primarily an indirect means of establishing more satisfactory social relationships at work or in the community.

With the rise of bigger corporations and the emergence of possibilities for mass production, employers fought determinedly to destroy the old craft power. They took pains to use their new technology and work organization as much as possible to prevent such worker power in the modernized factory. Their victory was incomplete in many industries, where "past practices" were contractually protected. But the overt union work rules were superseded by informal resistance that often centered on small work groups, possibly with support from local union leaders, according to David Montgomery, author of the newly published *Workers Control in America*.

During this century the craft unions have carried on a defensive battle against new technologies, but they have been less successful in asserting control over new methods. Industrial unions have, on the whole, made far less effort to control the nature of the technology. Workers in such industries often had little skill to protect and less clout to use than the crafts. "They made the employer pay for benefits to compensate for the harmful effects on workers who remained and on those who remained technologically unemployed," says Julius Reizer, author of *Automation and Industrial Labor*.

After World War II, in coal, meat-packing, longshoring and other industries, the union leadership struck deals that permitted radical changes in technology in exchange for money and benefits. Many unions pressed for agreements to lay off workers through attrition, to provide severance pay, to guarantee transfer rights, to provide retraining or to shorten work time, primarily through earlier retirement.

Despite a great fear of automation in the late '50s and early '60s, the labor movement did not respond systematically, partly because the postwar boom seemed to absorb many workers who were displaced and the predicted scope of automation did not materialize. "If you're talking about any full debate of the consequences of mechanization and

As virtually every plant in the industry is substantially refitted by 1985, workers face not only a potential massive loss of jobs but also unprecedented managerial control in the factory that could also threaten the union's muscle in bargaining. Management not only replaces workers with robots. It attempts to control workers as if they were robots.

At the heart of this upheaval in production is the tiny microprocessor, a computer on a chip. The same technology that makes possible the pocket calculator and the digital watch is bringing the power of the computer to the factory floor. For \$5 a company can buy a microprocessor the size of a nickel that has twice the capacity of the largest computer available in 1946.

As a result of the soaring capacity and plummeting cost of this technology, 90 percent of the machines that General Motors buys by 1987 will be computer-controlled, according to corporation president E.M. Estes. By 1982 G.M. will have increased its use of computers in manufacturing fourfold.

The scope of this new computer technology is quite broad. It can guide an individual machine or manage a factory. The impact will be compounded by a new flexibility in the overall operation of the company, as computerized networks link every aspect of even far-flung multinational operations like G.M. or Ford, increasing their power over workers and unions.

The threat of "soft" automation.

In the past, many frightening stories about automation were not borne out. But computerized automation is quite different.

Previously automation was "hard," or inflexible. It was only effective in limited areas where parts were produced

in large volumes such as cylinder block lines or in continuous process operations such as the oil industry. By contrast, computer automation is "soft" and very flexible. Instructions in computer memories guide general purpose machines, such as robots or lathes. Making new parts usually requires only new instructions to the machine rather than elaborate new tooling.

The flexibility of computer technology means that for a given product, the production process could be designed in different, equally economical ways. Some ways will improve working conditions and increase workers' skills. Other approaches will degrade job content and destroy skills. Robots, for example, can be used to speed the pace of workers and to automate the better production jobs or they can be used to save people from working in unhealthy and hazardous areas. Computer-controlled lathes can make the machinist a button pusher or they can be designed in a way that fully utilizes and expands his skills.

Management is using this increased flexibility to extend its authority over workers as well as machines. As one executive in the auto industry put it, "We don't have any breakthrough on the horizon in metal cutting. We want to concentrate on what happens to the part when it's not on the machine." This means "wringing out the non-productive time": faster loading and unloading of machines, tighter monitoring of operations, and the complete control over every minute of a worker's time.

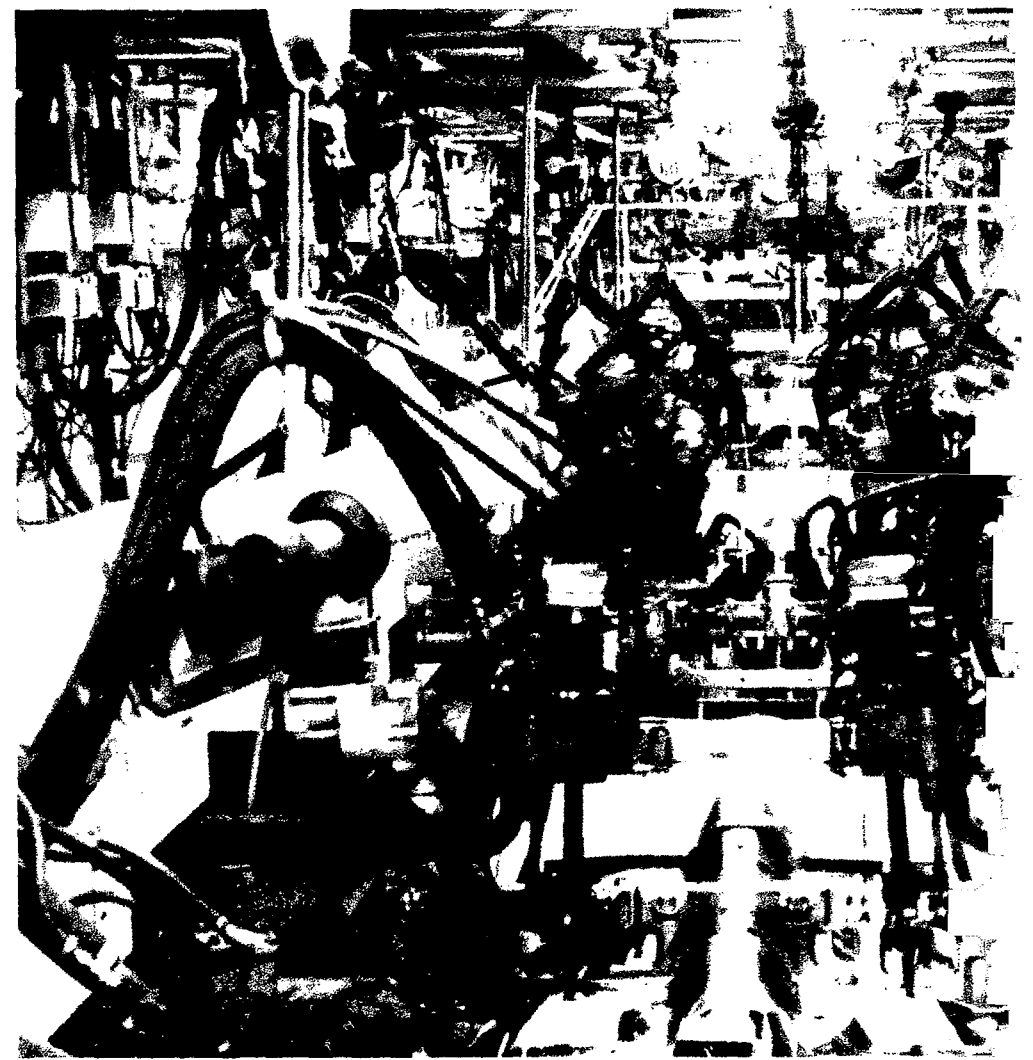
The flexibility of computer automation extends its impact to every worker in the plant, even the white collar and technical staffs. Programmers, draftsmen, process engineers, and designers all become potential allies of the union as a result of these technological developments.

how to deal with it, there have been damn few if any within the labor movement," Ralph Helstein, former president of the Packinghouse Workers, recalls. "The debates have developed out of pragmatic problems—a plant closes, a new piece of equipment comes in—and out of the furor generated by that." Helstein was one exception as a leader in the Ad Hoc Committee on the Triple Revolution, which argued for a radical restructuring of work and society for an era of rapid automation and potential abundance.

The historic trade-off—in which unions recognized broad managerial rights and accepted technological changes unblinkingly in exchange for more money and benefits—has, however, begun to unravel. Workers now want more power, autonomy and creativity in their work. Ultimately that requires more worker and union power over the machines and methods used at work.

Through slowdowns, working to rule and a broad arsenal of other informal tactics, workers have resisted technological extensions of managerial dominance. In recent years, health and safety standards have also offered leverage for challenging management's decisions about technology. But the field is wide open.

The UAW demands this year will probably not be won totally, partly because many union leaders and most of the members are unaware of the precise threat of the computer and robot to their work. Without strong rank and file support, it would be difficult for the union officials to overcome management resistance on this point. But a new awareness of the issue could make bargaining over technology an explosive issue of the '80s. If that leads to bargaining as well over what is to be produced, then the labor movement will have made a great leap forward.



At the heart of computer automation is a large central computer that manages armies of smaller computers. The system, which is often called computer-aided manufacturing (CAM), routes parts through the shop, controls machine tools directly, keeps track of inventories, and reports what workers are doing. Numerical control, the computerized automation of skilled machining, robots and other machines tie into this larger CAM system.

The computerized "factory management system" gives management the capability to time-study production and skilled workers 24 hours a day, seven days a week. The system links a large central computer to a micro-processor on a machine. When the machine cycles, it is recorded in a large central computer. When the machine doesn't produce a part within the allotted time, it is immediately obvious to more than the computer: that information is displayed on a video screen in the foreman's office and recorded on a computer printout. The video screen instructs the foreman to go to the machine and investigate the problem. The printout is also forwarded to higher management for analysis. Every minute of the worker's time is accounted for. The record shows how many minutes he was back late from lunch or break,

how many minutes the machine was down without explanation, and how many breakdown minutes were recorded.

Under this system the foreman no longer decides to discipline the workers. He merely carries out the "automatic" decisions of the system. This prohibits the supervisor from getting "cozy" with the operator.

In one plant in which this system was installed, the workers quickly devised a way to take a break and leave the machine to "cut air." For a while, everyone was happy: the workers could pace their job, and the computers recorded their numbers.

But then management compared the number of parts recorded with the number of parts produced, and countered by linking the computer directly to the machine motor. When a machine cuts metal, it draws more power than when it runs idle. Hence, management could tell when parts were actually being produced. No more unauthorized breaks.

This unprecedented managerial control over the workforce represents a major change in working conditions, a change achieved under the cover of the introduction of new technology. If the goal were just to collect information, a computer terminal could be located at each machine and the worker could dial

Computers give companies power to 'scab by telephone,' strip workers' skills, or automate the foreman. But workers could use them to better their jobs.



The most common robots in the auto industry are the "Unimate" spot welders (above and left), but new robots can assemble small parts. Some prototypes (right) can even "see" different parts, "read" visual commands, keep track of information about the parts and then direct the robot's work.

in his production at the end of the shift. The worker would be giving information to the computer, rather than the computer controlling the worker.

Computerized reporting systems are set up in a way to bring the skilled worker under tighter managerial control as well. Many of the hard-won traditions of skilled workers, such as the prevention of time-study, are undermined. Records of breakdowns are kept in all areas of the plant and on all shifts. They can be kept at every plant in a company even as large as G.M. and compared for investigation of different standards of performance and discipline.

R2D2 goes to work.

Robots in the factory today bear little resemblance to their humanoid cousins in science fiction movies such as *Star Wars*. Instead, they are generally stationary and often look like a giant metal arm and wrist sitting on a pedestal. Despite their humble appearance, these robots

weld car bodies, load machines, and even assemble complex parts. With the entry of new instructions into the control system, it can perform a different task. Its guiding minicomputer links the robot to the central computer of the factory management system.

There are only about 5,000 robots in use world-wide. About 2,000 are in the United States. However, once the technology is developed and successfully applied in one area, it is a relatively simple matter to mass produce the equipment for a wide variety of applications.

Mention of the word "robot" raises the spectre of job loss. Consequently, some companies prefer euphemisms such as "automatic transfer devices." Whatever they're called, a \$40,000 robot has a working life that averages 8 years and costs about \$4.80 an hour to operate when it is used on two shifts. The wages of autoworkers have risen since 1961, but the hourly cost of operating robots has remained relatively constant. Unless the union gains some control over the pace of their introduction, the auto workers' wage increases may be undermined by accelerated use of robots.

Some assembly line robots paint car bodies or weld parts in unpleasant, unhealthy environments, but many robots are also being developed to do the more desirable jobs. The PUMA (Program-

mable Universal Machine for Assembly), developed by General Motors, does bench work such as assembly of an automobile instrument panel, hardly a hazardous or undesirable job. Robots in particular can replace operators who have some control over the pace of their work, such as machine loading. As *Production* magazine put it, "Whenever you have a production machine that is 'operator-paced' you have an opportunity for improvement."

When it is impossible to eliminate the operator, robots can be used to set the pace of work. The PUMA, a \$20,000 combination of robots, parts feeders, transfer machines and people, can handle 95 percent of the car's component, according to a G.M. study. "G.M. thinking is that robots and people can work together on assembly jobs," *American Machinist* reports, "and that they should be interchangeable." That raises the frightening possibility of workers paced by mechanical arms on each side. They will also be programmed by distant engineers, not by workers in the shop as with current robots. If a robot malfunctions, a human worker could be "inserted" in its place to do a job designed and paced for a robot.

Why is the person there at all? According to General Motors engineers, "it was decided to retain human beings in the system until vision and tactile systems were perfected and became economically feasible." A G.M. robot that can "see" will be ready for in-plant testing during the 1980 model year, although it will be some years before they are perfected.

Technological scabbing.

Flexible computer technology can weaken the union at the bargaining table by undermining what is ultimately the union's only real power: the strike. The power of withholding labor means nothing if the plant can operate without it, and the new technology makes this possible. Even when a union is strong enough to keep a plant closed, the strike can be crippled by management's new ability to transfer work electronically to other plants. The labor movement thus faces a frightening new challenge: technological scabbing.


Workers in the aerospace industry have faced this already. When the Machinists struck McDonnell Douglas in 1975, computerized equipment gave management the ability to maintain close to 60 percent of production while workers were on the picket line, according to one local union official.

Computerized technology gives management vast new powers to shift work from a struck plant to other locations. For example, an auto company could complete design of parts in its central headquarters with computerized equipment and transmit instructions over telephone lines to non-striking plants in another town, another state, or halfway around the world. With the advent of the "world car," a basic model built in many countries, such managerial power to shift work among countries would undercut national unions.

This is not futuristic fantasy. A computer program was used to design in record time the 1975 Cadillac Seville dies, which are steel forms used to stamp out the sheet metal parts of a car. The program was then used as well to generate tapes to control the manufacture of the dies on computerized machine tools.

General Motors had decided in 1971-72 to machine these dies at independent shops in the Detroit area rather than in its own facilities.

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THE GREAT COMPUTER HEIST OF JOBS, SKILL AND POWER

ALTHOUGH THE NEW TECHNOLOGY will affect both production workers and the skilled trades, skilled workers have been first to react as they have sensed a threat to their traditional ways of working. The Independent Skilled Trades Council, organized in 1973 largely by leaders of the United National Caucus, has played the major role thus far in bringing the concerns of skilled trades about the technology to the attention of the international union.

Al Gardner, president of the tool and die unit at the huge River Rouge plant of Ford in the Detroit area, and Pete Kelly, an alternate committeeman for the design staff at the General Motors Technical Center in Warren, Mich., are both longtime union activists and skilled workers. Gardner is president and Kelly secretary of the ISTC, which has 7,000 members, mainly in the Detroit area. Recently they talked with *IN THESE TIMES* about problems they see in the computerized auto factory of the near future: Have you seen anything in your shops that suggests the potential for computer-controlled technology to radically change work and undermine workers' power?

P.K.: At the G.M. Tech Center we've already got the drafting and designing

into cathoscopes, where you design in these television sets. The skills of the draftsmen have changed rapidly. They're not working with their usual pencils, slides and caliper points. The drafting boards are already becoming computerized.

Some people might see this as just improving the design system—more accurate, more integrated. You obviously also see a threat.

PK: I see first of all a great decline at the Tech Center in the employment of skilled tradesmen.

AG: We've felt the impact mainly with numerical control machines—"NC"—that have been in since 1967. Those are tape-run machines of the first generation. The new ones coming are computer-controlled. They can have the tapes, which are now made inside the plant, made in some central location and feed the information from the central computer into a minicomputer on the machine. That takes control of that machine out of the hands of the operator. Our operator can't adjust the speeds. All he can do is just sit there. His skills will be diminished, and eventually they won't need a skilled tradesman to run that machine. A high school kid with two weeks training will do it.

We're not against progress. We know

We're not against progress. But if the company uses computers to monitor and control people, it will turn them into mindless, powerless industrial slaves.

computers are going to be here. But if the company uses the technology to monitor and control people it will be like turning them into industrial slaves. They'll be under 24-hour time study with every move they make monitored by computer.

The company is interested in reducing labor costs, and they can use this new technology not only to eliminate jobs but to keep the ones behind under complete control. Every time a machine stops, they'll know about it, know why it's down. You won't be in the hands of

automated for the companies to maintain their profitability. I'm sure their goal is a 30 percent reduction in man-hours per car. They can't justify such major investment without that kind of improvement."

Top manufacturing managers and engineers, surveyed recently by the Society of Manufacturing Engineers, predict that 20 percent of the direct assembly of a car will be done by programmable automation—robots—by 1985 and 50 percent by 1995. They also predict that half the direct labor in small component assembly will be replaced by automated equipment as early as 1988.

"There has been some labor-saving automation brought into the auto business in the past quarter century," Callahan observes. "But it has really been minimal compared to the potential that robots offer for eliminating human labor."

The computer automation that is sweeping the plants today makes the issues of job security and wages more important than ever, but it also raises some critical new questions for labor: What is the impact of technology on job content, managerial control over workers, and the strength of the union? When management is free to use it as they wish, computer automation is an effective weapon to undermine working conditions and weaken the union. The very flexibility of this form of automation, however, gives the union the ability to demand that technology be used in the interests of workers as well as the larger society. The computer age still remains to be shaped.

A veteran machinist, Harley Shaiken is a consultant to the UAW on the new technology, about which he is writing a book.

This is the first of an occasional series on the new manufacturing technology that he and David Noble are writing for ITT.

a foreman, who usually is capable of some kind of relationship. Most foremen are pretty well satisfied if they get production out, and he's usually the only guy in management who knows what's happening on the shop floor. With a computer, somebody above him knows, so he has no control anymore.

How have these first-generation numerical control machines affected your tool and die shop? How have workers reacted?

AG: It's had some effect on how fast dies are built. But the first generation machines have not worked very well.

This latest generation of NC machines is much more sophisticated, and much more capable not only of taking work out of the bargaining unit but also having complete control of the people who run the machines. If you lose your skill, you lose your power, and if you lose your power, you lose your militancy. It definitely weakens the bargaining unit.

PK: We believe that we're on the verge of a new industrial revolution. These robots in production cost about \$28,000 and the cost to the corporation for a worker for a year is at least \$20,000. And now you're talking about a robot that can work on that line 24 hours a day, seven days a week, no coffee breaks.

And if as skilled tradesmen we're just

watching machines after the tape comes down to see that there are no screw-ups, what kind of pressure can we bring? Previous to this when a guy brought down a drawing, I was responsible for how the hell that was to be run. I had a power over the job, and if the supervisor gave me a hard time, I'd just work to rule and you'd have three or four days extra on the job and a messed up piece of crap, because I'd done it his way. I don't have that power any more.

How do you see this new technology affecting the production workers, the non-skilled workers?

PK: With robots they'll be able to eliminate a lot of jobs. In 1980 there won't be one car or truck painted with a human being involved. All paint departments will be eliminated. They'll be able to assemble small parts, and that will eliminate more jobs.

AG: We'll probably get more skilled tradesmen at first until they get all the bugs out. The immediate threat is to production workers more than skilled trades with loss of jobs and control.

What are you pushing for the union to do now?

PK: First, we want the union to educate people about what's happening. All through the literature we have it's very clear what management's intent is: gain total control of the workplace, eliminate the human impact.

We want to have data stewards so that all of the input of any machine, any type of technology will be fed back to the international union.

[UAW vice-president Irving] Bluestone in 1978 sent a letter asking for people to report on this and he did not get one letter back. Not a letter. But international reps checked and found out all kinds of equipment had been put in without their knowledge.

It's obvious that you're interested in more than information.

PK: This thing ultimately comes down to the management prerogatives clause. And the vice-president of General Motors once said to Reuther at one set of negotiations, "If you want to touch that clause, you better go get your army."

What are the areas of management prerogative that you see as particularly important to challenge with regard to the new technology?

PK: Our point of view is that the 40-hour week is going to have to go. We also have to be concerned about creative jobs. Is dequalifying all these designers

progress? If they get this kind of control in all the factories in this country, what kind of society is this? I've had these skills for 20 years—they're part of me, my life. Suddenly they say to me, sit over in the corner and watch this machine for the rest of your life. What the hell does that do to me? What do I have any more? We should be opening up jobs with creativity, not closing them down.

Other than reducing the workweek, are there any ways you see of using this new technology to open new power and new creativity to workers?

PK: This technology should be used to increase productivity, to fulfill some of the promises that have not been kept. It should not just be used to increase profits or the managerial presence on the floor—which has increased from one foreman for every 40 or 50 men to one for every eight and could come to be one for every four.

AG: There's no doubt the technology can make a better product and a cheaper product, but it puts workers out of jobs. You can take care of that through a



shorter work week and earlier retirement.

The real danger is that there are factory control systems that don't increase the productivity of the machines but do increase the control over the workers. That's why we want language in the contract that says you will not introduce systems that can monitor workers. They will not have that capability and we will know how they are built before they are built. If they can discipline people by computer, how the hell can you fight it?

PK: The point of conflict will be that the corporation will not let us have access to the data collection center. If we have that, then we have knowledge of what's going on in that plant and that corporation.

Is there any way the union can direct this technology so that it won't destroy the skills of workers or at least develop some new skilled trades?

AG: There's no doubt this technology will create demand for some skills—programmers. But there's no reason why that can't be done by union people. All the diagnostics for these robots, which management says belongs to engineering because they have the skills, those could be done by electricians with some training. When you're doing diagnostics and programming, you control that machine. If that's in control of the engineers, then as an electrician you just do what the machine tells you to do, and that doesn't give you any power.

What should the union do?

AG: There's a problem that many international representatives have been away from the plant too long and forget what it's like to work there. They begin to think half like management. But also workers in the plant don't understand. If the company came and said we'll give you 50 cents an hour plus cost-of-living for retirees but we keep complete control of technology, we'd have a hell of a time getting them to turn the contract down. Yet if they get complete control of that technology they can afford to give it to us and more. They'll recover the cost down the line.

—David Moberg

SHAIKEN

Continued from page 13.

When workers at these plants struck in 1973, G.M. had to shift the work elsewhere if the Seville was not to be delayed. Using computer technology, Cadillac easily moved the die work to one of its own facilities that was not on strike. G.M. admits to paying a \$1 million premium for doing the work in this way, but it was obviously worth the price. Without computer technology it would have been impossible to transfer this project.

The new technology also carries the old threat of massive job displacement. Using less sophisticated automation, the auto companies raised the number of units built per production worker per year from 12.8 in 1955 to 17.7 last year. The workforce did not decline despite this tremendous productivity increase because sales rose (doubling since 1961) and vehicles became more complex. As the U.S. auto market approaches a hypothetical saturation level and the public becomes more demanding of economy, auto sales may level off and the car may become less complex. In that case, in the scenario of Joseph Callahan, editor of *Automotive Industries*, "sooner or later car production will again flatten out or decline and then the layoffs will materialize."

Even if the market remains strong and the cars complex, the historically high rate of productivity increase in the auto industry should accelerate and reduce the need for labor. "The rate of productivity growth will be much faster now," LeRoy H. Lingren, director of new product planning for the consulting firm of Rath and Strong, predicts. "The new small cars will have to be much more

LETTERS

IN THESE TIMES is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the authors and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

A PRETTY GIRL IS LIKE A MALADY II

I FIND YOUR MOST RECENT PICTO OF Jane Fonda (*ITT*, Aug. 22) deeply disturbing. Must you perpetuate the image of Fonda as a sexual object? She deserves to be taken seriously as a political activist, not portrayed as the "Barbarella" she has herself repudiated. Your comparable full-length photograph of Dennis Kucinich in the same issue remains remarkably asexual.

The horrifying dictum of *The Woman's Dress For Success Book*, a best-seller detailing the most effective appearance for women who want to "succeed" in management, quite explicitly states that women cannot be both sexual and taken seriously, and urges aspiring women to eliminate all references to sexuality. Men, on the other hand, it seems, can quite successfully combine their powers of attraction with those of the corporate board room. The case of Jane Fonda appears to support this dilemma for women who want respect in working on the left, as well.

—Dana Frank
Ben Lomond, CA

Editor's note: The picture of Fonda was taken at the May 6 anti-nuclear rally in Washington, D.C. The choice of dress was Fonda's.

OSTRICHES?

JOHN JUDIS' ARTICLE "NAM AND THE Revolutionary Hermit" (*ITT*, Aug. 22) is beneath the quality of *ITT*'s usually even-handed critical reporting.

Whether the left should involve itself in electoral politics is an open question. DSOC is committed to electoral politics, while NAM has been openly debating the extent to which it will devote its energies to electoral politicking.

Without stating it directly, Judis' article packs in a strongly pro electoral bias. One gets the sense that NAM members are basically a bunch of ostriches, and it has taken six years for half of them to pull their heads out of the sand to approach the DSOC position. The tone of the article is patronizing.

There is no simple answer as to why the left has had such a minimal impact on the American political scene. Judis seems haughtily to castigate NAM for not having done a better job of it.

In the future, I would appreciate if Judis would state his biases more openly and avoid the superfluous sarcasm.

—Marvin Malek
Chicago

NOT ON THE ROAD TO PURITY

THE NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT IS not on the road to sectarian purity as John Judis claims (*ITT*, Aug. 22). NAM walks on two legs: one in the world of practical reform politics and one in the world of Marxist theory revitalized by feminist insights. What other organization has the imagination to study Gramsci and at the same time learn from the Midwest Academy school of neighborhood organizing?

Judis repeats that those who voted at the NAM convention only to explore joint work but not merger with the Democratic Socialist Organizing Com-

mittee (DSOC) were intimidated by the August 7 caucus, a group within NAM opposed to any special relationship with DSOC. But this vote, taken by 2/3 of the members, really represented both a positive response to DSOC and an understanding that NAM at this time must maintain its ideological and organizational integrity.

Judis' put down of NAM is fueled by excessive optimism about the emerging reform movements. He sees them spontaneously moving to the left, and has no patience with the debate in NAM about the relationship between reform and revolution, and the corollary question of how to build legitimacy and socialist presence at the same time.

This optimism converges with that of the August 7 caucus. They see rank and file upsurges taking people out of the Democratic Party; Judis seems to see populist upsurges reforming the Democratic Party. At least August 7 stays in NAM and fights for its estimate. Judis takes pot shots from outside, an unfortunate development, given his talent as a journalist and his roots in NAM.

—Dean Pappas,
Baltimore

ZAMBIA

JOHN SAUL'S ARTICLE ON ZAMBIA (*ITT*, Aug. 24) demonstrates a dog in the manger attitude that undercuts his credibility. It is a tissue of half-truths and misrepresentations that implies virtue lies only in impoverishment for the sake of other revolutionaries.

Unlike the Tanzanians and Mozambicans, the Zambians emerged from colonial rule with a source of profitable exports, copper. The government nationalized half of it and has attempted to use the profits for the benefit of the Zambian population. Is Saul arguing that it is more virtuous not to have had the industry? Certainly there have been cases of corruption; this has, as Jean de la Gueriviere showed in *Le Monde*, also been the case in Angola.

Saul's charge of a lack of hospitality on the part of the Zambians also reeks of self-righteousness. The Zambians have provided refuge for various Zimbabwean freedom fighters for years, suffering the indignity of numerous white Rhodesian raids. Is Saul suggesting that the Zambian government shift money to defense? The Patriotic Front in Zimbabwe has too long enjoyed the luxury of personal and ethnic divisions to demand inexhaustible Zambian hospitality while the heroic freedom fighters indulge in faction politics.

The same sort of division continues to plague Angola. UNITA, despite its later alliance with the South Africans, was the only movement to retain a presence in the country under Portuguese rule.

—Bruce Fetter
Milwaukee, Wis.

JOHN WAYNE RIDES AGAIN

I READ WITH GREAT INTEREST MORRIS Dickstein's tribute to John Wayne (*ITT*, June 27) but was surprised that he failed to touch on the schizo-stereotypes of the Native American, evident in even the best of the John Ford-John Wayne "Westerns" like *Stagecoach*

(1939) and *The Searchers* (1956). On the latter film, Dickstein writes that Wayne "relentlessly set on avenging the murder of his brother's family... tracks the Indian culprits for years with inhuman ferocity, and nearly kills his own kidnapped niece—the object of his quest—when he finds that she has been turned into an Indian squaw, sexually dishonored," but in the end, "this brooding, steel-cold unapproachable man" redeems himself by taking "his niece in his arms instead of killing her." Dickstein calls this scene "one of the magical moments of the American cinema."

It is magical, perhaps, if one can forget that at its heart is the idea that miscegenation is evil, that death is preferable to shacking up with a redskin. How could Ford and screenwriter Frank Nugent make this point credible to audiences except by falsely portraying the Comanches, as a group, as maniacal killers and rapists? And then by having the lean, tough, ex-Confederate Texan Indian-hater Wayne rescue the violated white squaw (Natalie Wood) from the clutches of Henry Brandon's leering, lustful, lecherous Indian Chief (Scar), with whom she has been living throughout the years of her captivity.

When Wayne tenderly embraces his long-lost niece after venting his rage on her, it is understood that now she will be free to pick up the threads of her life in safety in the civilized world. Ford and Nugent had simply restated the "Code of the Aryan Race" as enunciated in the racist 1916 William S. Hart film *The Aryan*, the opening subtitle of which read: "Our women shall be guarded," and "a man of the white race may forget much—friends, duty, honor, but this he will not, he cannot forget."

Obviously, this was right up John Wayne's alley. Yet Dickstein makes the ambiguous statement that "it takes an intelligent director to crystallize a great screen persona... Wayne's best directors, Ford and Hawks, both grasped the ambiguity of the western myth as Wayne helped to embody it."

If only the makers of *The Searchers* had had the guts to stick to the Alan Lenay novel based on the Frontier Case, on which the Ford-Wayne film was based, the result might have been a truly "magical moment of American cinema." In that famous case and novel (also titled *The Searchers*), the 13-year old abducted white girl enjoyed her life among Native Americans and refused to be rescued. Years later, when she was liberated against her will and her adopted tribe was annihilated, including the Kiowan she deeply loved, she died of grief.

—David Platt
Jewish Currents
New York

THE LONE RANGER WALKS AGAIN

I THOUGHT YOU WOULD LIKE TO KNOW that, because of the ruling in the Lone Ranger case, Jesus of Nazareth may not appear on the Cross anymore since the latter belongs to Transamerica.

He may appear at church socials, etc. as Jesus, the man that was crucified, but is not to wear the Cross on his back or the wounds. Transamerica is trying to revive the cult using Chuck Norris as a mellow Christ who, instead of turning the other cheek, gives the Roman soldiers karate chops. "Business uber alles."

—Art Liebrez
San Rafael, CA.

ISRAELI SECURITY

OCEANS OF INK HAVE BEEN SPILLED bemoaning and analyzing the Black-Jewish confrontation that is supposed to have been precipitated by the ouster of Andrew Young as U.S. delegate to the UN. But conspicuously absent from the discussion has been any challenge to the axiom that American Jews have

an interest in supporting the policies of the present Israeli government, especially its refusal to deal with the P.L.O.

It is not surprising that American Jewish opinion is considered to be virtually unanimously in favor of whatever Israel does or proclaims to be in its interest. The Israeli government and the leaders of the major Jewish organizations have worked hard to build and preserve the facade of unanimity. After Begin's Likud came to power in Israel in May 1977, some American Jewish leaders who felt more comfortable with Israel's Labor-led governments voiced misgivings and doubts. But these hesitations were quickly and firmly silenced and the law was laid down that Begin was to be referred to as a former "freedom fighter," not an ex-terrorist. I.F. Stone, among others, was so shocked by this muffling of dissent within the Jewish community that he complained publicly on the Op-Ed page of *The New York Times* that criticism of the government was more tolerated in Israel itself than among American Jews. He was correct.

Many Jews, especially those for whom the holocaust is still a haunting memory, view Israel as a haven of last resort—a place where they can always go and be safe should their existence here be threatened. But this is, unfortunately, a cruel illusion. Because as long as Israel categorically rejects reaching an accommodation with its neighbors in the Middle East, including first and foremost the Palestinian people, Israel's only security lies in its military supremacy. At present this supremacy is maintained to a very great extent by the supply of arms from the American government and the untaxed contributions of millions of dollars by American Jews. Should the U.S. government decide to reduce arms shipments to Israel or restrict the flow of dollars by taxing contributions to the United Jewish Appeal, Israel's military position would not be nearly so secure. Recent increases in supplies of U.S. weapons to Egypt and Saudi Arabia only serve to underline this point.

Because Israel's ability to remain intransigent in denying the Palestinian people's right to self determination depends heavily on U.S. arms and dollar support from American Jews, the American Jewish community is, in effect, being used as a club by the Israeli government. Begin threatens Carter that the Israel lobby and the Jewish community will not support him if he does not support Israeli intransigence. Since American Jews are assumed to support Israeli government policy, it follows that Begin can carry out his threat.

By allowing itself to be used in this manner the American Jewish community perpetuates Israel's insecurity. Israeli garrison state mentality is reinforced; the conflict in the Middle East is intensified; and the unfulfilled aspirations of the Palestinian people remain a volatile powder keg capable of exploding at any moment. As long as Israel does not make peace with all its neighbors it remains dependent on the U.S. And as recent events in Iran and Nicaragua demonstrate, the future of American client states is not secure.

It is in the best interests of Jews, both of Israel and the U.S., for Americans to speak out and criticize the Israeli government's intransigence.

—Joel Beinin
Ann Arbor, MI.

CORRECTION:

The pictures on page 6 of Vol. 3 No. 40 and on page 5 of Vol. 3 No. 37 should have been credited to Joshua Kornbluth.

Editor's Note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

DAVID KAIRYS

The DC-10: safety, profit have little in common

FOLLOWING THE RECENT DC-10 CRASH IN CHICAGO, there was a by-now-familiar scene: An industry spokesperson praised the safety record and efforts of the industry, reminded us that air travel is safer per mile than travel by car and assured us that the cause was some unlikely, one-of-a-kind failure that will be fully investigated and need not cause alarm. And amid the rubble and bodies, a box of flight recording instruments that was aboard the plane had already been retrieved and might soon indicate the cause of the accident.

The stark contrast of that unharmed box of instruments, capable of surviving almost anything, and the unrecognizable wreck of the airplane and its unrecognizable passengers symbolizes a lesson about airplane safety that I learned while studying engineering in the early 1960s.

It was the age of space travel, and the sight of astronauts floating to the ground in space capsules that cannot fly was not lost on engineering students concerned about airplane design. The overwhelming majority of crashes result from a malfunction or damage associated with the wings or engines. Passengers are seldom injured in the air; the main danger to life stems from the inability of the aircraft to return safely to the ground.

Why not, some of us asked, protect the passenger compartment and give it the capability of returning to the ground without serious injury—like space capsules, and those boxes of instruments? Specifically, with significant but not extraordinary expense, we thought the pas-

senger compartment could be fireproofed, made capable of withstanding some minimum level of impact and equipped with parachutes and/or small rockets for a safe descent to the ground.

The response of our teacher was instructive, if not satisfying: these ideas, and the basic technology for their realization, had been around for a long time, but the industry believed the death toll was at a "tolerable" level; they were not interested in reducing their profits to make air travel safer.

Of course, safety and the profit motive have never had a lot in common, and the DC-10 is but a recent, fatal example of that incompatibility. The DC-10 was designed and built by the McDonnell Douglas Corp. under intense competition with Lockheed's L-1011 Tristar for the medium-range jumbo jet market. Lockheed started work substantially before McDonnell Douglas; nevertheless, the DC-10 was produced nine months before the L-1011. Not surprisingly, McDonnell Douglas got most of the sales

and profits, and the public got an unsafe airplane.

The safety of an airplane is mainly a matter of the depth of its defenses. It is impossible to prevent all failures and malfunctions; designing for safety means taking the time and expense to anticipate problems, minimize their effect and provide backup and alternative systems to deal with anticipated and unanticipated problems.

This is where the DC-10, compared to other contemporary airplanes as well as reasonable standards not yet attained, is deficient. For example, the L-1011 and Boeing's 747 (which earlier cornered the long-range jumbo jet market) have four independent hydraulic systems for controlling the airplane from the cockpit, while the DC-10 has three. Moreover, because of their locations, the DC-10's control system hydraulic lines are more vulnerable to destruction.

The DC-10's wing control lines are in the front of the wings. In the recent accident in Chicago, these lines were apparently severed after a failure in a wing engine mount resulted in the engine being thrust up and into the front of the wing. Although the DC-10 can fly with only two of its three engines, the loss of control capability cost 275 lives.

Also, the DC-10's control lines to the tail are attached to the floor of the passenger compartment, which apparently resulted in the deaths of 346 people near Paris in 1974. A poorly designed cargo door opened and the loss of pressure collapsed the floor, severing the tail control lines.

On the L-1011 and the 747, the wing lines are in the back of the wings and the tail lines on the outer body. Presumably, both planes could survive the same failures that resulted in tragedies aboard DC-10s.

Of course, McDonnell Douglas and the government were aware of these design problems. In fact, after an earlier cargo door accident, an engineer for a McDonnell Douglas subcontractor wrote a memo predicting the exact series of events that occurred in the Paris crash. A

directive ordering immediate changes to DC-10 cargo doors was prepared by the Federal Aviation Agency (FAA) but withdrawn the night before its issuance. The changes specified in the withdrawn directive were not made on the DC-10 that crashed near Paris.

The government repeatedly provided McDonnell Douglas with undeserved stamps of approval for the DC-10. Less obvious consequences of the government's role include its tendency to lessen public concern with safety and to undercut the credibility of warnings about dangers, as people are led to believe that the government is taking care of safety.

The FAA's legitimacy as regulator and guardian of the safety of air travel is supported by several familiar concepts: the FAA is, in the conventional wisdom, a neutral agency, appointed by elected officials and autonomous from the corporations, which acts in the public interest based on scientific knowhow and access to pertinent information. As many of these concepts have become transparent, institutions like the FAA have increasingly relied upon exaggerated and mystified notions of science and expertise to support their authority.

We must challenge the use of science and expertise to mask social, economic and political judgments. To do that, we will have to challenge some of our own ingrained notions: for example, it should be obvious that the safety record of air travel, or any other technology, is not bolstered by favorable comparison to the dismal record of auto safety. This society accepts the fact that its largest industry will result in tens of thousands of deaths each year—in some years, over 50,000. Perhaps these numbers are so large and familiar that it is difficult to see the lost humanity in them, but we cannot accept such indifference. We must challenge notions of safety that lose sight of the value of life, such as cost benefit analyses that provide a scientific gloss to people-made judgments that profits are more important than human life.

Herbert Marcuse: A piece of the past dislodged

By Russell Jacoby

Herbert Marcuse is dead. At the age of 81, he succumbed to a world he always resisted. His list of credits or crimes is long, and includes inciting the student revolts of the 1960s. For those who collect evidence that the '60s are over, another scrap can be pasted in the album. But those who were too young to remember those years and those who never cared should be told: A piece of the living past has been dislodged.

Herbert Marcuse was a perpetual scandal. He belonged to a species on the endangered list everywhere: the politically engaged intellectual. The world of the big buck and the fast deal was not his; neither was he one of those academics who clamber up the ladder of government posts and consulting fees nor was he the front man or fall guy for any political group. His commitment to critical and independent thought belonged to a fading tradition.

Marcuse shared obsolescence with others from his generation; it was the source of their intellectual force. What he said on the occasion of the death of his friend, T.W. Adorno, can be said of himself: He preserved past forms of culture in the uncompromising opposition to the present culture. This generation indicted the present with its own past. Here was the root of Marcuse's unfashionable integrity. That Marcuse was attacked not only by defenders of the security of the Republic, but also by Moscow's Pravda; not only by the Pope, but also by the French Communist Party; not only by the American Legion, but also by left sectarians suggests that he threatened authorities of every stripe. Marcuse was not only a subversive; he was subversive to the subversive.

Marcuse a subversive? He never tired of affirming that he was only a "poor" philosopher. He threw no rocks and set

no bombs. He offered only unexpurgated thought: thinking without censorship and fear. But this provoked censorship and fear. Academics were unnerved by his intellectual audacity, and the ease with which he walked between the departments of the university. He wrote on Marx as well as Freud, on the Soviet Union as well as the United States, on philosophy as well as on art. His academic critics were convinced that because he had so much to say he lacked rigor. Defenders of law and order mailed him death threats.

Marcuse was a man of the 20th century, and also its victim. Along with a generation of Jews, Marcuse made the trek from Germany to the U.S. as Hitler came to power. His 81 years began in Berlin and with intermediate stops in Geneva, New York, Washington and Boston, ended in Southern California, where he joined the faculty of UC San Diego in 1965. Others were not so lucky. Many never began or finished the flight from fascism. Marcuse did not forget, and his remembering was not an afterthought of a weekend testimonial. The wounds that heal in time, he wrote, were also the wounds that contain the poison. In the cloudless skies of Southern California, Marcuse never forgot the darkness that haunts civilization.

Marcuse drank deeply from Freud, as well as from Marx and Hegel. The titles of some of his books suggest his unfashionable scope: *Eros and Civilization* and *Reason and Revolution*. These four words encompass everything he wrote. The Freud who pondered whether aggression and self-destruction would drown civilization was familiar to Marcuse; and he turned not to the Marx of state production goals, but to the Marx of human liberation. He shared the sentiments of his friend Max Horkheimer, who had denounced those revolutionaries who were already drawing up lists for the executions of the future. Marcuse

was no pacifist, but neither was he a friend to the cultists of violence. In his vocabulary, pornography was not so much four-letter words, but the hardware of military destruction. He found obscene a society that indicted the pornographers while parading bemedaled generals to be gawked at by Little Leaguers and Boy Scouts.

The improbable happened. For a historical instant this uncompromising intellectual from the past, who never lost his German accent and never learned to drive, was lionized—and cursed—as investigating the student upheavals of the '60s. A student of Marcuse's, Angela Davis, made headlines as a black revolutionary, and added to the din around her teacher. His best known work, *One Dimensional Man*, had appeared in 1964, and anticipated that future social revolts would be triggered not by a working class but by those "outside" the working class: blacks, minorities, students and peoples of the Third World. In the U.S., and even more in Germany, France and Italy, Marcuse emerged as one of the most visible spokesmen of a new left. The "new" of the New Left expressed a hope and, partly, a reality. It was new after the dissipation and repression of the older left of the 1950s, and it turned away from the traditional arenas of elections and trade unions to challenge society in its gut: the streets, the bureaucracies, the forms of life and loving. Yet did the youth of Jerry Rubin's "Do It!"—the Yippies, hippies and rebellious students—actually read Marcuse's books? No matter. For a moment there was a convergence of sensibilities. The inchoate protest against the war in Vietnam and racism, which spilled into a wider and deeper protest, found its reason and mind in an aging German-Jewish philosopher. For a moment the gap between the texts of Marcuse and the writing on the wall was closed. At the same time that he was writing "the

fight for Eros is a political fight" the streets resounded with the scuffles of a counter-culture. If Marcuse was fashionable, however, it was despite himself; he wrote no blank checks, and was sometimes a sharp critic of the New Left. And when the world went on to other things, Marcuse continued writing and lecturing.

A society traumatized by the exhaustion of its energy and fuel should take note. Fascism packed off to these shores a sliver from the wreckage of European culture. It included a Thomas Mann, a Bertolt Brecht and a Herbert Marcuse, as well as thousands of others. Marcuse was active and committed, interested and interesting to the very end of his life. He was born before the age of the automobile and he died in the nuclear era. Today, corrosion and erosion have damaged the ability and energy to think critically and boldly; the pay is poor, and few are applying. Marcuse's example of critical reflection and political commitment must be protected and nurtured. All the solar power in the universe will not light a world that has lost its ability to illuminate itself.

Marcuse, the pessimist, once wrote that "Not those who die, but those who die before they must and want to die, those who die in agony and pain, are the great indictment against civilization." Neither Marcuse's life nor death add to that indictment; the carnage of daily life and the destruction of wars more than suffice. Marcuse led a full and graceful life. What does darken the future prospects, however, is that the force and subversion that belong to the engaged but independent intellectual will fade into oblivion, and that with Marcuse we are burying a piece of ourselves that we are unable to retrieve.

*Russell Jacoby, who will be teaching history at UC Irvine in the fall, is the author of *Social Amnesia: A Critique of Conformist Psychology from Adler to Laing*.*

JOSEPH M. SCHWARTZ

It's not really the draft, but the level of arms

LAST SPRING SAW THE EMERGENCE OF AN ANTI-DRAFT movement of considerable proportions, with more than 30 demonstrations across the country involving thousands of students and off-campus activists. With anti-draft mobilizations planned for September it is imperative that socialists forthrightly oppose not only resurgent militarism, but also confront the issues of equity and social justice raised by liberal proponents of the draft. ¶ Perhaps because libertarians have played a key role in initiating the movement, anti-draft activities have often been characterized by a negativist political perspective that was once succinctly described to me by a cynical friend as "save my middle class ass, I owe nothing to my country." This is not meant to be a blanket condemnation of the anti-draft movement. Elements within the Coalition Against Registration and the Draft have highlighted the militarist intentions of the Congressional and Pentagon draft proponents. They have also illustrated the inadequacy of national service proposals as a means for achieving full employment.

But we cannot leave this issue to defenders of the "free market" who would build an anti-draft movement of the right. For example, it does not seem to concern libertarians that blacks constitute a disproportionate percentage of American ground troops. They simply assume that blacks "freely choose" to volunteer for the army, and fail to understand the economic pressures in American society. Non-whites and poor whites join the armed forces in disproportionate numbers because they lack job and educational opportunities. The armed forces relegate minority Americans to the least desirable jobs within the armed forces and burdens more than 30 percent of them with "dishonorable" discharges. In addition, blacks are systematically discriminated against when it comes to

serving in the technical wings of the forces. Blacks constitute more than 30 percent of the infantry, but less than eight percent of the Air Force and Navy.

The Congressional Black Caucus correctly argues that drafting even more black Americans will not redress the disproportionate defense burden black Americans bear. The Caucus has demanded a democratization and integration of the volunteer forces, coupled with full employment. This would provide meaningful non-military employment for the 60 percent of minority teenagers who are unemployed. If the anti-draft movement is to transcend its white, middle class origins, it must join in the fight for equal job opportunities for all citizens.

Libertarians wish to make opposition to "involuntary servitude" the central theme of the anti-draft movement. As socialists, however, we would not be opposed to citizens doing service for a democratic, egalitarian political community. Such service opportunities would have to be diverse, taking into account the rights of pacifists. But a true national service program that employed young people at union wages to restore our inner cities, build mass transit, and aid the sick and elderly, would be worthy of serious consideration.

The national service program proposed by corporate America, however, would

only undercut organized labor and provide temporary make-work assignments for the unemployed. Their national service program would not provide people of varied cultural and class backgrounds an opportunity to work together on projects of social benefit, but would most likely consign working class youth to menial tasks while allowing "educated" youth the option of administrative desk jobs.

A professional (non-conscript) military, however, also poses threats to a democratic society. A separate military caste can be a force for an adventurist foreign policy and authoritarian rule at home. French socialists remember well that those members of the armed forces who opposed the right-wing coup of the *Algerie française* officers in 1962 were the draftees and reserve officers, many of whom were socialist civil servants and school teachers. French military options in Vietnam in the early 1950s were also circumscribed when the all-volunteer Foreign Legion proved insufficient and the use of reluctant draftees became a necessity. Events such as these, coupled with the continental European left's historical counterposition of the *levee en masse* to the aristocratic volunteer forces, help explain why much of the European left cannot fathom the American left's opposition to the draft.

But there are drafts and drafts. The current proponents of the draft do not desire a more democratic armed forces. They wish to expand American military options and fear that a disproportionately black and brown armed forces would not be amenable to intervention in the Third World. The post-1948 draft, which lasted until 1973, did not democratize the leadership of the armed forces. A professional officer corps continued to rule and ROTC officers did not provide a more progressive leadership element. Even when the inequity of student deferments was eliminated, college educated youth were often able to avoid service or to secure desk jobs.

The question, then, is not whether or not there is a draft, but whether the defense burden is necessary and whether it is distributed equitably. On the first



score, the Pentagon planners wish to expand our strategic capacities well beyond our already considerable global reach. Congressional and Pentagon dreams of a limited, tactical nuclear conflict in Europe (as if such were possible) and mobile interventionist task forces for the Mideast and Third World inflate force levels far beyond those needed for world stability.

In a world that has yet to eliminate power blocs and nuclear weapons, immediate, unilateral disarmament is a utopian demand. But an informed public, not an arms-oriented Pentagon, should determine what constitutes a "reasonable" force level and the direction of arms-control negotiations. Furthermore, once military expenditures are democratically controlled, the defense burden should be borne in an equitable manner. A draft that offers minorities and the poor a no-win choice between dangerous trench jobs in the armed forces or menial tasks in a national service is no more equitable than an all-volunteer force.

Joseph M. Schwartz is the National Youth Organizer of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee. A shorter version of this article originally appeared in *Days of Decision*, the publication of the Youth Section of DSOC.

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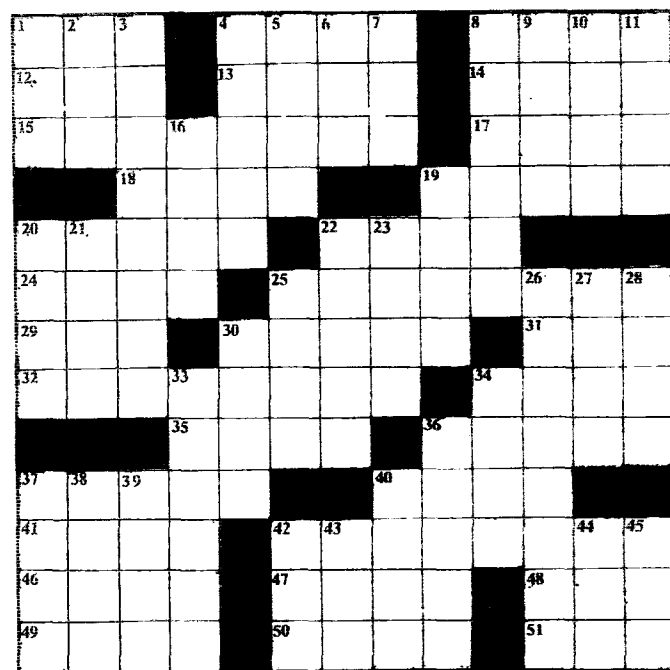
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MORE OR LESS?

By Jay Shepherd

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- 1 Football cheer
- 4 Greek portico
- 8 Jumble
- 12 Latin I verb
- 13 Elusive vegetables
- 14 Inter----
- 15 Eternal
- 17 Author Ayn
- 18 Leprechaun land
- 19 Spree
- 20 Driver
- 22 Norman town
- 24 Pindaric output
- 25 Connections
- 29 Aspin of Wisconsin
- 30 Files
- 31 Land measure
- 32 Perfumes
- 34 Virtuoso's moment
- 35 At hand
- 36 Aerosol chemical
- 37 Select
- 40 Follow
- 41 Cough deeply
- 42 Unequaled
- 46 Turkish ruler
- 47 English composer Thomas
- 48 Black or Red
- 49 Afternoon meals
- 50 Units of butter
- 51 Clique

DOWN

- 1 Tattler
- 2 Marie's friend
- 3 Condition describing most of the "boat people"
- 4 Word with person-
- 5 Hard age
- 6 Hemispheric org.
- 7 Onager
- 8 Dock
- 9 Flair
- 10 Emulate Frank Sinatra
- 11 Marquis de ---
- 16 Amor
- 19 Stakes
- 20 Word with May
- 21 March time
- 22 Kitchen utensil
- 23 picnic crashers
- 25 Comedienne Imogene
- 26 Indifferent
- 27 The Stooges, for example
- 28 Actor Connery
- 30 Partner of snick
- 33 Makes a debut
- 34 Seed covering
- 36 Succeeds
- 37 Part of q.e.d.
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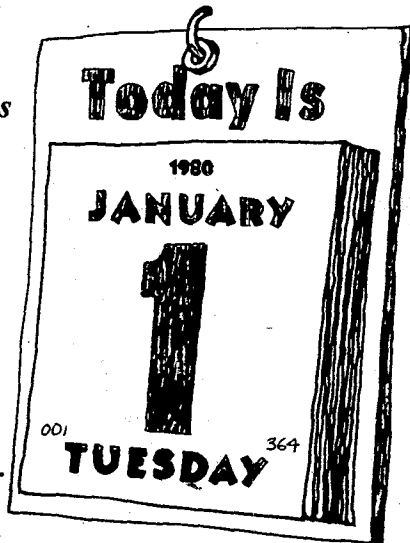
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STH

SALT II

Continued from page 3.

Union had intervened in Africa, Latin America, or the Mideast.

Kissinger's proposal for a 5 percent real annual increase centered on buttressing U.S. conventional forces in Europe, improving U.S. naval capability (with a view towards quick intervention overseas), and strengthening U.S. "counterforce" capability. ("Counterforce" refers to the ability of nuclear weapons to destroy hardened missile sites rather than simply cities or military bases.) At both the Senate hearings and at an international conference in Brussels this month, Kissinger urged that the past policy of "mutually assured destruction" was insufficient. At the Brussels conference, he even warned Europeans that the U.S. might not intervene if the Soviet Union attacked Western Europe, and the U.S. only had the choice of destroying Soviet cities and inviting an attack in kind.

Kissinger's position was seconded by the Joint Chiefs of Staff and by Georgia Sen. Sam Nunn. "The Carter administration is not yet prepared to compete effectively with the Soviet Union in the military arena," Nunn said.

Nunn and Kissinger together command the support of moderate Republicans and Southern Democrats. Their "conditional support" for SALT means that a deal could be worked out to win the necessary two-thirds majority.

The Carter administration had already attempted to appease the Kissinger-Nunn forces by agreeing to build 200 MX missiles. The MX missiles are "counterforce" weapons, and they also potentially threaten arms control verification.

In August, Carter announced that he would seek around a \$3.8 billion supplemental increase in the defense budget. Approximately \$2.2 billion would go to make up the dent that inflation had made in the budget, and \$1.6 billion would go to restore programs that the House and Senate had cut from the 1980 budget. The net result would be a real 3 percent increase, less than Nunn and Kissinger demanded, but possibly enough for a compromise.

Once the Cuba crisis is out of the way—and it will probably be resolved soon—



Secretary of State Cyrus Vance.

er or later through a series of face-saving gestures—hard bargaining on the defense budget will begin.

This projected deal between the Carter administration and the Nunn/Kissinger forces was what liberal SALT opponents like George McGovern, Mark Hatfield, and William Proxmire had most feared. In July McGovern had offered his own SALT II amendments. Like Kissinger's proposed amendments, they would have been attached to the treaty resolution not to the text of the treaty.

McGovern called for new negotiations toward a one-year moratorium on the development or deployment of new strategic weapons, a 10 percent yearly reduction in each country's strategic arsenals over a three-year period, and a summit conference in three years to decide whether to continue the reductions.

These proposals will now be lost in the shouting over Cuba and in the race to shore up the defense budget. McGovern remains "undecided" on whether to support SALT II. The Cuba crisis has, if anything, further darkened his view of the SALT process, which he now sees linked not only to "arms escalation" but to the deterioration of detente. "One has to wonder," McGovern said last week. "Is SALT worth the price of a bigger military budget and a worsening relation between the two military powers? That question remains unanswered in my mind, as a strong believer in both arms limitation and the spirit of detente." ■

had been arrested four days earlier for ignoring an order that forbade him from entering Arab Hebron. The order had been issued after several Jews, suspected to be members of his movement of Israeli extremists, terrorized Arab families living in homes Kahane claimed once belonged to Jews. Kahane's people issued statements condoning the actions.

Several of Kahane's supporters and curious court staff watched as the rabbi's lawyer argued that he should be let out on bail. Kahane had broken the order, it was explained, to test its validity. Its legal basis "was intended to control hostile Arabs, not patriotic Jews," the lawyer said. The army prosecutor could only half-heartedly warn that Kahane might break the order again if let out. The defendant promised he wouldn't and bail was granted.

The four days Kahane spent behind bars awaiting a bail hearing may sound like a lot by American standards, but Israel's occupation rules allow for 18 days and Arabs are regularly held that long before being charged—or sometimes not charged with anything, but served a six-month "administrative arrest" order. All these practices, which can so easily be used as forms of harassment and intimidation, were inherited from the British mandate of 1917-47, when they were often used against Jewish nationalists.

Kahane's hearing meant that the Bir Zeit seven had waited all day in the heat for nothing. They wanted to get it over with, and the judge on duty that day was known to be relatively lenient. But when their lawyer begged the judge to hear the case, he agreed only on condition that they plead guilty. The offer was politely refused, and the trial postponed for two months. ■

Bir Zeit

Continued from page 9.

students tend to sympathize with the Palestinian left. These groups adamantly reject the American-sponsored settlement, would oppose King Hussein's participation in talks or any attempt to reassert his influence over the West Bank and are more interested in mobilizing the masses than in throwing a few bombs at Israeli civilians. Such ideas interfere with Israeli attempts to define its crackdown as strictly anti-terrorist.

Walid, for example, is a personable second-year student at Bir Zeit. We struck up a conversation while awaiting his trial. The rest knew they could expect sentences like those given Bethlehem University students recently for similar "crimes"—three months and \$400 fines—but Walid was worried. He had a three-year suspended sentence hanging over his head for a previous conviction. He had been convicted of studying with a group of young socialists that had come together to discuss Palestinian history and society. The authorities called it a cell of the Marxist Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, an illegal organization. But Walid and his friends were not convicted of any violent activity or conspiracy.

We continued to wait in the sweltering heat. One by one, we heard the sentences given to the six teenagers being tried: Four, three, five months...

Then there was another hearing, a very unusual one. Rabbi Meir Kahane, formerly of the Jewish Defense League,

»SPORTSCENE«

BASKETBALL

Circus stunt on the court

By Mark Nelson

THE NATIONAL BASKETBALL Association (NBA) Indiana Pacers' decision to sign Ann Meyers—a UCLA graduate and star of the U.S. women's Olympic team—to a \$50,000 contract is a cheap publicity stunt. It reflects the racial politics of the NBA and desperation in Indiana over declining attendance.

Many fans will greet Meyers' signing with great reluctance. The blossoming of women's basketball is one of the most exciting developments in the American sports scene. Great female players like Meyers, Carol Blasejowski, Nancy Lieberman, Lucy Hanley and Althea Brown have demonstrated women can play a brand of ball as exciting as the men's game. The growing crowds for women's college basketball and the formation of a new women's pro league testify to this.

But Meyers, if fairly judged, would never survive laydowns for an NBA squad. I have seen her play on television and have great respect for her skills as a ball handler, shooter, and team leader—which won her All-America honors for four consecutive seasons. But at 5-foot-9 and 135 pounds, she does not have the speed, strength and jumping ability of the only two NBA players under six feet—Calvin Murphy and Drachner Cries. She also does not have their experience in shooting over players more than a foot taller (the tallest players in college women's ranks are 6-foot-5). Her accurate shoot-

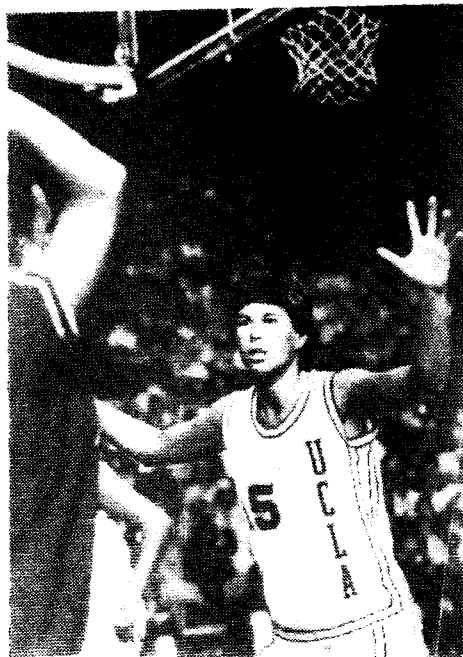
Ann Meyers' contract reveals the racial politics of the Pacers and of the NBA.

ing and pinpoint passing simply cannot compensate for these weaknesses, which would be obvious in a game against top high school players.

In inner city neighborhoods throughout the U.S., there are thousands of young men—most of them black—whose basketball skills are more developed than Meyers'. This is not a reflection on Meyers' athletic ability—or those of other women players—but of her lack of exposure to sustained competition against men in high school and college.

Virtually all NBA players under 6-foot-2 are products of a brutal selection process that begins when they are 10 years old—and sometimes before.

To make it in the NBA, a little man (someday a little person), must play five hours a day, seven days a week, from that age on and seek out the best players in his area to compete against. In most of the U.S. that means going to the black community. After 12 years of this, including high school ball, college ball and competing against pros in city summer leagues, a player is ready to try out for



Ann Meyers: Attracting attendance

the NBA. By this time, if he succeeds, he has the artistic virtuosity of a ballet star and the physical toughness of a linebacker.

Though a few women players—notably Nancy Lieberman and Carol Blasejowski—have gone to black neighborhoods to hone their skills, none has gone head to head with the top pros and college players for seven or eight years. Had they done so, there is no reason to think one or both could not play in the NBA. But Meyers has less individual skill than Lieberman or Blasejowski.

Still, one is tempted to applaud the Pacers

for giving her a chance. After all, the worst she can do is fail. But the history of the Pacer franchise renders their motives suspect. Last year, the Pacer team suffered the worst attendance in its history, partly because of its record—under .500—and partly because of its racial composition—90 percent black. At the end of the season, the only white player on the team was Brad Davis, who would never have been rescued from the minors had his color been different.

At a time when NBA owners are panicked by declining attendance and the dominance of black players, the Pacers' decision looks like a circus stunt to recapture crowd interest.

Putting a white woman on the court with a team of black men will attract crowds of curiosity seekers—even if Meyers played in the exhibition season, where she can easily repay the Pacers' \$50,000 investment.

But to people for whom basketball is at once a game, art and way of life, it's demoralizing that the first woman in this position will fall so short. There are hundreds of players—mostly black—who could star in the NBA if given a chance, who play in the minors for \$50 per game and spend summers at NBA training camps hoping for a shot at the big leagues. Most will never see a contract like Meyers'.

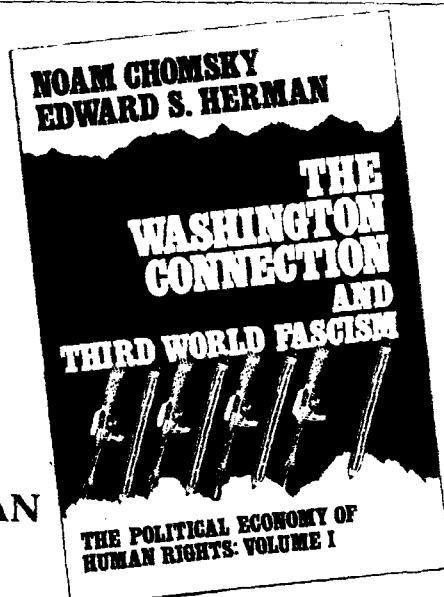
If no one tries to cripple her—either teammates or opponents—Meyers is good enough to survive an NBA game. But she won't be able to score easily or guard her opponents.

A basketball league in which each team must start a minimum of two women would be fun to watch and highly competitive. Such a division works well in professional volleyball and it would be exciting to imagine a time when basketball, like tennis, has men's competition, women's competition and mixed competition.

As *ITT* went to press Ann Meyers was cut from the Pacers. Coach Bobby Leonard commented, "From a fundamental standpoint she is excellent. Some of the guys in this camp had better thank God she doesn't have more height and weight."

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ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

BOOKS

Dust Bowl's history is also prophecy

DUST BOWL: THE SOUTHERN PLAINS IN THE 1930s
by Donald Worster
Oxford Univ. Press, 1979, \$14.95

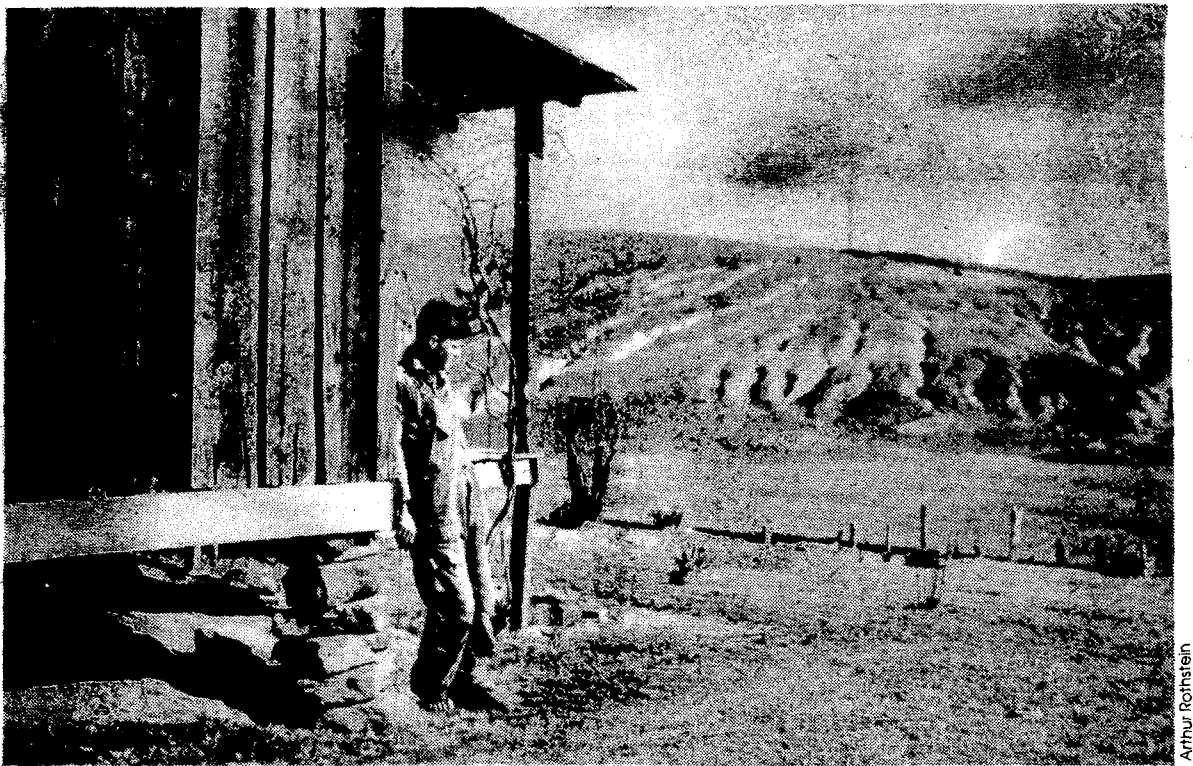
By Michael J. Casey

This book is at once history and prophecy. It not only places the Depression-long Dust Bowl in a socio-economic context; it also predicts what will happen as long as agri-capitalist society continues to exploit the fragile semi-arid plains that were once grasslands and that are now damaged desert.

In Depression America, though there were those who saw it in religious terms, the Dust Bowl was generally regarded as merely bad luck or bad timing. It was neither. Drought, Worster demonstrates, is a fact of life in

the area once referred to as the Great American Desert. Whereas the grasses used to prevent erosion in such times, the massive plowing and mono-culture farming practices of the times led directly to the Dust Bowl.

Worster stresses that individual greed, capital-intensive technology and farming for profit are responsible for the rape of the land. It does not necessarily follow that another form of government might not also yield the same results; Stalinization of the plains would surely have come to the same end. Perhaps capitalism can yet bumble along into the indefinite future. Nevertheless, this book shows that the American system has compiled an abysmal record of ecological devastation and quite possibly the worst use of the land.



Arthur Rothstein

The salvation of the system, Worster points out, has been a government that bails out the incompetent and a technology that misuses the resources. When the price of wheat is high the speculators rush to plow up every inch of land; when the price is low the government pays them not to plant. The vaunted efficiency of American farming when measured in terms of human labor becomes gross inefficiency when measured in terms of petro-energy.

The grasslands are fragile. The cattle barons almost ruined them by over-grazing in the late 19th century, and the wheat farmers of the early 20th century did ruin them. There is no magic, no scientific ag-school theory or

practice, that can transform grasslands into what they are not. Plowing the grasses up creates, especially in drought times, dust storms and land scoured down the hardpan. Government reclamation projects have been largely ineffective, because not enough land was taken out of private control. Even the non-socialist governments of Europe, in Germany and England and elsewhere, enforce strict controls on land usage. The Chinese have been farming the same land for forty centuries; we have created deserts in forty years.

Dust Bowl's detailed account of the New Deal as it applied to the disaster area, micro-studies of Cimarron County, Oklaho-

ma and Haskell County, Kansas; and the photographs from the era are alone worth the price of the book. On the other hand, Worster romanticizes the Indians and engages in pointless elitist animosities against the "Main Street" culture of the '30s and the mass culture of the present.

As desertification proceeds apace, from the Sahel to Phoenix, we shall all have to learn to live with land management and the demise of the fast-buck free-enterprise individualism. Worster's book is as valuable for this lesson as it is for its history of the plight of Dust Bowl refugees and of those who stayed. ■ *Michael Casey is in the American Studies program at Washington State University.*

British workers are getting richer but not happier

**WHAT WENT WRONG?
WHY HASN'T HAVING
MORE MADE PEOPLE
HAPPIER?**

By Jeremy Seabrook
Pantheon Books, \$10 (hardcover), \$3.95 (paper).

By David Moberg

A raw and confused malaise festers in the deep core of many working class lives in contem-

porary capitalist countries. Occasionally it finds expression in outbursts ranging from union militancy to racist hysteria, from adolescent rock, drugs and occultism to adult religious fundamentalism. Mainly it persists as an uncomprehending sense that something very fundamental about their lives and society has gone wrong.

Jeremy Seabrook tries to answer that tough question—"what

went wrong?"—and explain, or at least describe, how growing affluence for many workers has not brought the promised happiness but rather new problems and discontents. It has also changed traditional working class culture, in many ways for the worse, or so he and nearly all of his subjects agree.

Seabrook returned to British working class communities such as the one he grew up in, chatting informally to plumb people's sentiments. The result is a frequently engaging picture of working class beliefs and despairs in the vein of such works as George Orwell's *The Road to Wigan Pier*, Studs Terkel's works or Lillian Rubin's *Worlds of Pain*. Although distinctively British, as it should be, there are enough familiar echoes to make the book useful as a meditation on U.S. society as well.

To pay for their new houses, their children's toys or their creature comforts—still quite modest in many instances—workers have been robbed of other things that are perhaps more valuable, Seabrook argues. That includes their skills and satisfaction in work, their deep-seated beliefs in values to order their world, whether religious or political, and, most of all, a sense of comradeship, cooperation and shared living.

We hear old militants talk about the hard old times and the glorious struggles. Jessie Stevens, 84, recalls her early entry into domestic service, Independent Labour Party politics and the suffrage movement. We hear disgruntled old craftsmen, such as a retired hand-grainer of morocco leather talk about the passing of highly skilled trades. We hear old coal miners in Wigan describe the pride and solidarity

that gave them great satisfaction despite the dangers and hard work.

They preferred the deep dark shaft to Wigan's contemporary Tupperware factory. They regret that Labour Party clubs now are vacuous social centers rather than the chapels of a working class religion of socialism. They are discouraged that if there's a struggle that excites young kids, it is possibly the fight for white Africa against black guerrillas—as in the case of Steve Wilson, recruit for Angola—rather than the fight of labor against capital. When Gary and Pete, two teenagers in Blackburn, tell Seabrook that they want "action," he asks what they'd like to see happen: *Gary: "Personally, I'd like a lot of money. A lot. Get a motor-bike, a house, clothes, all the women I want, not have to worry about signing on twice a week."* *JS: "What about work?" Pete: "No thanks."* *JS: "What would you like to see happen politically?" Pete: "I don't care. Get rid of the Paksis."*

This is the product of affluence, the victory of the labor movement? So Seabrook and many of the older people ask. It is not as if they're opposed to workers having more money and better things, but they feel that the pursuit of material benefits has sapped the labor movement of its vision without really threatening capitalism. Market mirages have displaced the vision of an alternative society. For workers the only alternative is not a working class utopia but escape from the working class.

"People have become more like things," Seabrook writes, "and things endowed with human qualities; people become dispensable, disposable, interchangeable, arbitrary."

The critique isn't novel, although Seabrook gives a good personal feel to it. The problem with the book is that it simply doesn't prove its point in a way that would convince non-believers. Too often he glibly assumes that the tales of craftsmanship and deep, caring human relationships in a community filled with extended families truly represents the past for most workers. Much of the contrast is valid, but the nuclear family has been dominant for centuries, many of the day laborers of the past century had few skills to call their own, and prejudice, ignorance, and inhumanity among workers isn't a product of welfare state capitalism.

What really has changed? What has gone wrong? How are workers different? Those are important questions, but at his best Seabrook hints in the direction of possible answers. He never explains precisely how capitalism works its evil, de-humanizing way. The mechanisms by which such changes are wrought must be demonstrated and explained, not just evoked.

Much as he succumbs to the temptation of using a better past as his standard, Seabrook wants us to look forward. To that end he presents a union leader of the Lucas Aerospace combine, where workers are trying to redesign products and work to use their skills and new technology for social needs. And he adopts the localist, conservation-oriented model of the self-sufficient community from Friends of the Earth as a way of restoring what has been (presumably) lost while building a better future. It's appealing to me, but will Pete and Gary—with the Pakistanis—want to live in it, and fight to make it happen? ■

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FILMS

French farce rides the gay film boom

By Lynn Garafola

La Cage aux folles, the surprise hit on the summer art circuit, is the latest commercial venture to cash in on the gay boom.

There has been no dearth of gay films in the past. From *Le Sang du poète* to the work of Kenneth Anger, gay filmmakers have attracted cult followings with their campy renditions of (largely male) homosexual life. But it was not subject matter alone that marked these films as gay. They created images of the lifestyle where being gay was not merely an alternative to being straight, but the norm in a self-enclosed world with its own unique values.

The recent spate of "gay" films have not only left the closet of underground screening rooms. They also take their cue from the heterosexual world. In a class by itself, the Mariposa Film Collective's sensitive documentary *Word Is Out* reveals the enormous diversity of the American homosexual community and its experience. In the Canadian film *Outrageous*, released here only last year, a female impersonator befriends a slightly kooky schizo and makes the point that "queens," like schizoids, are just folks. Sharing the limelight with *La Cage aux folles* this summer, *Night Hawks* is a low-budget British feature that juxtaposes the night time cruising of a London schoolteacher with his day life in the classroom.

In each of these films, gayness is something to be explained. Interviewers or characters, standing in for the straight world, query the protagonists about what sets their lives apart from society's norms. But along with explanations comes a tour of the seedier aspects of gaydom—cruising and the disco scene, dressing rooms where imperson-



Renato shocks Zaza with an improvised redecoration in honor of in-laws-to-be; insert, Zaza plays Mama.

Gay films are out of the closet and into the marketplace, where they titillate tolerant straights with a sneak peek at another lifestyle.

ators transform themselves into women. These films plead tolerance, but, with the exception of *Word Is Out*, they also appeal to the voyeurism of the straight audience.

Based on Jean Poiret's play, *La Cage aux folles* is by far the slickest and most entertaining of the lot. The title comes from the name of a posh Nice nightclub notorious for its high-toned drag show, and director/screenwriter Edouard Molinaro milks his setting for all the laughs he can get.

As Zaza, the chocolate-nibbling showstopper, Michel Serrault turns in a superb performance. In style of dress, jealous tantrums and swishing walk, Zaza offstage is both a backwater Bernhardt and classic stereotype. Club owner Renato Baldi (Ugo Tognazzi) is the

macho of this odd couple. His solitary venture into heterosexuality landed him with a 20-year-old son, Laurent.

Abandoned by his natural mother to the hands of Zaza, who raised him, Laurent is unmistakably heterosexual. He is also in love, and comes to Nice for father and "auntie's" blessing. Laurent's fiancée is a sweet young "petite bourgeoise." Her father is the moving force behind the League of Moral Decency, who becomes a public laughingstock when his boss, the President of the Republic, dies in a prostitute's arms. To avenge their tainted honor, the family takes off for Nice and a white wedding with Laurent, who their daughter tells them is the son of a diplomat.

The dinner is arranged at the apartment above *La cage aux folles*. At Laurent's begging, his father agrees to play it straight. Rehearsing their roles—Zaza is to be Laurent's uncle—they try to lay aside the masks of sexual identity, revealing the deep feelings they harbor for each other. The dinner, of course, is a disaster. Laurent's real mother turns up late; Zaza plays the role of her life as a grey-haired matron who is unwigged; the defender of moral order is smuggled past reporters in drag. True love wins out in the end, and the lovebirds are united in holy matrimony by a limp-wristed priest.

In recent years few French films have opened here commercially, and most have been markedly shorter on substance than charm. As in *La Cage aux folles* the romantic comedies mock the pretensions of the bourgeoisie, while their postcard settings and designer label clothes provide an elegant backdrop.

The rise of the gay movement (which is much less advanced in France than in the U.S.) has created an audience for films

about gays far broader than the cult following of an earlier day. However, as these films move out of the ghetto, their message becomes a simple one of tolerance: gays are just like everyone else.

La Cage aux folles comes down with more than a touch of pathos on the side of tolerance. Zaza and Renato are the proverbial old married couple, a bit kooky perhaps, but dear and loveable all the same. As farce, the film remains locked within a genre that leaves little space for the expression of emotion or

character development. *La Cage aux folles* makes gays the butt of its humor in a traditional way, while flattering the audience for its supposed open-mindedness.

The film's audience is middle-class, liberal in its outlook and tolerant of alternative lifestyles. From clothes to disco, art and eating spots, this is the group on whom gay trendsetters have had their greatest impact. *La Cage aux folles* is likely to offend no one. Quite the opposite. It celebrates a gay style that gentrified city folk have taken to heart. ■

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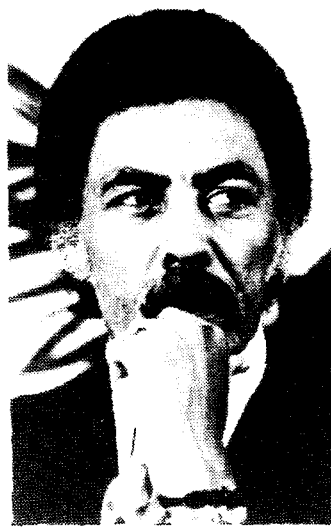
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ST 92

FICTION

By Pat Aufderheide

There was a time, before he became a pop culture hero, when Kurt Vonnegut was one of the best commercial fiction writers in the U.S. He had a clear and expedient style, a good eye and ear for middle American details, and in the middle of that efficient amusement, he had something to say. He commented—wryly; he was sneaking it in—on the ironies of post-war affluence, on the banality of evil done as a byproduct of profit-making, on the inexplicable sense of loss by those with precious suburban security. While Updike and Cheever were staking out the high ground, Vonnegut was adding a fillip of meaning to the stuff that those of us in tract housing thought of as ours—the off-the-rack cheap novel.

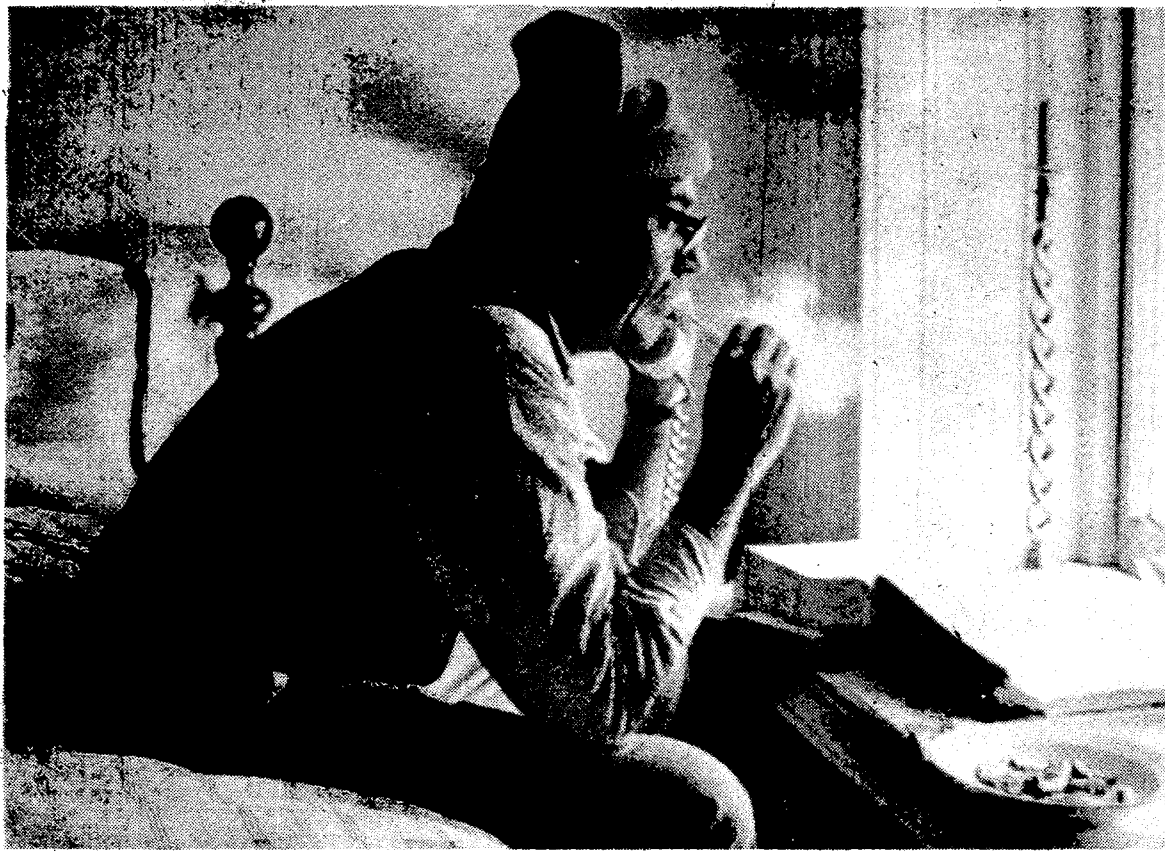
He should have stuck with those proportions: commercial formula, with a twist of social comment; because Vonnegut never had much to say. He has dreams of a better world with better people in it, but no faith that we can turn this one into anything but a more ludicrous version of itself.

His books always have dreamers in them, who want to fix everything up the easy way; and they also feature an ascerbic commentator, the science fiction writer Kilgore Trout, who is cursed with joke-plots that are really allegories on the human condition under capitalism. These are, easily, the author's romantic humanist and the romantic cynic aspects.

Vonnegut left safe territory when he exposed his horror at living through the firebombing of Dresden in *Slaughterhouse Five*. Nothing in his subsequent books, for all their cute ironies and tired exhibitions of psychic scars, ever again came close to the grotesque efficiency of *Mother Night*, *Cat's Cradle* or *Player Piano*.

With *Jailbird*, Vonnegut has

Post-Watergate fantasies from the forgotten conspirator



Vonnegut dreams of a better world, with better people in it, but he lacks faith that we can make this one more than a caricature of itself.

regained control over the full paragraph, and even over the full chapter, which is a welcome return from the hiccupy *Slapstick*. But *Jailbird* does not signal a return to innocence; it contains both the best and the worst of Vonnegut. It has some funny plot twists that are one-liners on *Our Fate*. But it also has plenty of pretentious pontificating, usually disguised as apologetic, short-short sentences.

He does not make a good start by a Uriah Heepish preface in

which he quotes from a high-school student's letter to him:

He says in his letter that he has read almost everything of mine and is now prepared to state the single idea that lies at the core of my life's work so far. The words are his: "Love may fail, but courtesy will prevail."

This seems true to me—and complete. So I am now in the abashed condition, five days after my 56th birthday, of realizing that I needn't have bothered

to write several books. A seven-word telegram would have done the job.

Seriously.

Only half-seriously, surely—the half that believes that we read Kurt Vonnegut for the ever-backfiring message.

Jailbird concerns the forgotten Watergate conspirator, who goes to jail with the famous ones but whose humiliations are so paltry that they won't even make a book. He leaves jail and runs into his college girlfriend,

who is now the most powerful corporate executive in the world, disguised for safety as a bag lady in New York. She dies in his arms and wills the assets of the ultimate megacorporation (called RAMJAC, controlling around a fifth of the American economy), to the American people. This will be, in her cracked philanthropic viewpoint, socialism by hypercapitalism.

Of course it doesn't work. Why not? Because "most of these businesses, rigged only to make profits, were as indifferent to the needs of the people as, say, thunderstorms. Mary Kathleen might as well have left one-fifth of the weather to the people."

The book mentions, among other things, Nixon, Roy Cohn, Sacco and Vanzetti and the Holocaust. This docudrama approach to his tale convinces us that Vonnegut's social anxiety is well-informed. But it does nothing else, except to convince us that life is probably stranger than fiction.

Back in 1952, Vonnegut wrote *Player Piano*, about a world in which technicians and middle managers ran the American economy with completely automated factories, while angry ex-workers hovered outside. A few managers banded together as a new religious movement, to liberate America from the machines. They discovered that the American workers, once freed of the machines that had robbed them of their life's work, occupied themselves enthusiastically in rebuilding them.

These days Vonnegut's cynicism is more sophisticated. But what is no more sophisticated is the naive messianism of his agents for social change, and the doomed quality of their mission.

It was better in *Player Piano*. Then we didn't know yet how little Vonnegut had to say, and how often he was going to say it.

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By Michael Massing

PUBLIC TELEVISION

Even PBS has to play cash and ratings games

Observers within and without the public broadcasting world are showing growing concern over the system's growing commercialism.

There are not yet any commercials on public TV, but this fall many local stations across the country will be featuring just about every other appearance of commercial TV. There will be Hollywood musicals and performances from the Grand Ole Opry. There will be reruns of nationally syndicated programs and even talk shows. And, taking up increasing precious hours, there will be PBS's own unique contribution to electronic hucksterism, its fundraising "festivals."

Of course, there will also be a generous selection of the more traditional, sober fare that is the system's hallmark. *Nova*, the acclaimed science series, and *World*, the weekly documentary program, will be back, as will those trusted stand-bys, *Masterpiece Theater* and *Great Performances*. A host of specials will feature everyone from Luciano Pavarotti to Jane Fonda. MacNeil/Lehrer and Dick Cavett will return for pensive adults, as will *Sesame Street* and *The Electric Company* for eager kids.

Public television in America grows more and more schizophrenic with every new season. While with its left hand it provides the Joffrey Ballet, with its right public TV offers us Phyllis Diller. Either way, public broadcasters are damned, pilloried either for being elitist or genuflecting before the masses.

That the two tendencies can co-exist attests to the diversity—some would say amorphousness—of public TV in this country. At the system's core is PBS itself, which coordinates the funding and distribution of national programs to member stations. Scheduling decisions are made at the 280 local outlets, most of which are jealous of their independence. The stations differ from one another not only in size and sophistication but in their management as well, being divided about equally between those controlled by community, university and local government.

Localism.

This fall public station WNIN in Evansville, Ind. will continue its series *Classic Cowboy Cinema*, which features not John Ford and John Huston but such heroes of the Bs as Gene Autry, Hopalong Cassidy and Buck Jones. The station is also evolving its own unique form of "public affairs programming," as it's described by station president Vincent Saele. *Prime Time 9* takes its cue from talk show host Phil Donahue, a man heretofore not especially known for his public affairs expertise. The show features a strange amalgam of local personalities, such as psychics and astronauts, and "Vegas-type" guests, like Phyllis Diller and Carol Lawrence.

In Oklahoma, the four outlets of the Oklahoma Educational Television Network will be airing *Edward the King*, a British-produced dramatic series that premiered on commercial stations within the last year. The Oklahoma-based system will also be offering syndicated performances from the Grand Ole Opry, another program picked up by commercial stations across the country. And *Nostalgia Theater* will offer Oklahomans a steady diet of Hollywood musicals from the 1940s. Minority and public affairs pro-



"Musical Comedy Tonight" is one example of PBS programming that woos large audiences.

gramming (the non-Donahue variety) will be allotted but 3-4 hours a week.

Such programs will undoubtedly boost the audience figures of these stations, but is that what public television is really all about? "I'm worried that if we go overboard in broadening our appeal, we'll eventually end up with *The Dating Game*," says Frederick Breitenfeld, executive director of the Maryland Center for Public Broadcasting in Annapolis.

Audience figures are becoming a common reference point. For over two years now the PBS research department has been grinding out elaborate ratings reports, based on Nielsen data, detailing the number of households reached by individual programs and the demographics of those tuned in. The data, says Dale Rhodes, PBS director of communications research, "tell us if anybody out there is watching."

Low ratings might indicate that a program needs a new time slot. Last year, for instance, national ratings indicated that *Nova* performed better in those markets where it was broadcast at 8:30 p.m. Thursday rather than at 8 p.m.; at the earlier hour it had to compete with the ABC blockbuster *Mork & Mindy*. This year PBS slated the hard-nosed *World* for 8 p.m. Sunday, but after discovering that *Mork* would be appearing at that hour, it substituted the lighter *Connections*, a new series portraying the development of some of the world's great inventions.

About half of the PBS member stations nationwide subscribe to ratings services for their individual markets, and some have become quite savvy in playing the numbers game. This is especially true at some of the smaller stations, where there is less stress on the "mission" aspects of public broadcasting.

Why they count heads.

Public TV's growing fascination with ratings and audience maximization has structural causes that have troubled the

system since its founding in the heady days of the Great Society. The problem is money. Public broadcasting's budget this year is a mere \$541 million, which must meet expenses for program production, administration and the operation of 280 stations. By comparison, commercial broadcasting grosses more than \$8 billion a year.

PBS is perhaps the only broadcasting system in the world lacking a regular means of support. "We've been forced to go to the public till at the local, state and national levels," complains Breitenfeld. "And we've been forced to develop cockamamie fund-raising schemes, to obtain industry underwriting, to sell memberships, to hold auctions."

The link between money and the programs that money buys is growing closer, even beyond the obvious ties between underwriters and the programs they sponsor. At Oklahoma's public network, for instance, the two have become inseparable. All those who contributed to the station during its 16-day fund-raising marathon in March receive a computerized ballot that lists all program options for the coming season; the ballots are tallied and programs purchased according to the preferences expressed. "We have the largest program advisory committee around—25,000," says Bob Allen, director of the Oklahoma network. "Everybody thinks public broadcasting isn't doing the job—except the people who watch it. Our public tells us they love what we're doing."

That view is spreading among public broadcasters. On-air fundraising campaigns, introduced only a few years ago, have now become fixtures of strapped stations throughout the system. "We have taken up so much air time for raising money," says Leonard Press, executive director of Kentucky ETV in Lexington, the center for the state's 13 public stations. "The fact is that programming is changing as a consequence."

The Carnegie Commission re-

port on the future of public broadcasting, released last January, concluded that many of the system's current ills could be cured by the simple infusion of generous amounts of cash. It set \$1.2 billion as the funding target for 1985. It is not a very large sum when compared to the money available to the networks, but it would relieve broadcasters of the heavy fund-raising burden they now labor under. In the eight months that have passed since the report's issuance, however, little progress has been made toward putting PBS on more secure financial footing.

Expansion or networkism?

But all is not status quo. The fall will mark the inauguration of a programming experiment that PBS officials hope will broaden the system's reach.

In the past, programs that PBS distributed for local prime-

time transmission, like *Nova* and *World*, were offered on a take-it or leave-it basis only, and many stations chose to substitute their own fare for shows beamed out of Washington. The uneven carriage that resulted made a shambles of PBS efforts to promote its nightly packages on a national basis.

As a proposed remedy, PBS will introduce a "common carriage" policy this fall. Many local outlets will commit two prime-time hours a night to programs selected in Washington for national presentation. The new arrangement, which takes advantage of the satellite interconnection system that PBS instituted last year, will produce something of a national "core" schedule at 8-10 p.m. on Sundays through Wednesdays.

Joan Lanigan, PBS director of program scheduling, says the format will allow national promotion and advertising for the first time. PBS plans to spend a hefty \$3 million to promote its prime-time programming.

To some local broadcasters, the arrangement is long overdue. "In the past, people would read in *TV Guide* that such and such a program was coming on, but when they tried to find it, it wasn't there," says Bob Allen, director of the Oklahoma TV network.

Others, however, are more suspicious about what they see as "networkism." Frederick Breitenfeld says, "My fear is they'll take out advertising and say the policy is a whopping success because it provided bigger audiences. So next year they'll want five or six nights for national programming." Soon, he says, PBS could begin moving into "option" time, a commercial TV arrangement that gives the networks special claims on prime-time hours. Even if the arrangement doesn't extend that far, the allure of a truly national audience could bring out corporate underwriters from the woodwork.

For the moment, though, most public stations would be happy to have the enlarged audiences the core schedule is aimed at. Last season the most popular PBS offerings rarely penetrated more than five per cent of all American viewing households, which is far below even the most poorly-rated commercial shows.

Guindon



"We don't talk about Star Wars at the dinner table, Dear, because Mommy and Daddy hate Star Wars."



MUNICH, WEST GERMANY

For 30 years the German people have tried to forget about World War II, and very few modern filmmakers have dared to depict the horrors of the Hitler era. However, the hottest cinema item in Europe this summer has been *The Tormented Vision of the Teenaged Bavarian Duck Hunter*, directed by Siegfried von Unsinn, a 55-year-old former sergeant in the occupation of Paris. With its extended scenes of military violence the film shocked many viewers at the Munich Film Festival, and the French delegation stormed out in protest. On the other hand, numerous Germans have warmly congratulated Sgt. von Unsinn for his courage in depicting Germany's sufferings in that now-remote war. Said press magnate Axel Springer, "He tells it like it was."

The film divides neatly in half. The first part evokes life in Nirgendsdorf, a small Bavarian village. We meet Hugo, Ludwig and Fritz, three cherubically blond and beardless farm boys. They drink beer at the local pub, hang around streetcorners in their Lederhosen, go on duck-hunting expeditions in the enveloping forests, and attend Mass in the awesome Protestant cathedral. But it is a torrid day in January 1941, and draft calls disrupt this idyll. At first unenthusiastic, the boys' loyalties are heightened on the eve of their departure, when fellow-villagers throw an Oktoberfest in their honor, complete with schnitzel, knockwurst, and quiche Lorraine. Sipping from his beer goblet, wiping the tears from his face, a much-moved Fritz stutters, "I love this town."

Suddenly—combat!

We see a hook-nosed Resistance fighter on the Boulevard St. Michel breaking into a ground-floor apartment, where he discovers a day-nursery; ignoring the heart-rending cries of children and nannies, the cad throws a firebomb into their midst. Fritz, now a Wehrmacht soldier doing guard duty, happens to witness this cruel deed and shoots the terrorist in anger. Three brutish guerrillas then jump Fritz and drag him into their Rolls-Royce.

Now comes the half-hour scene that has caused heated debates and even, in Parisian theatres, riots rivalling those that greeted Stravinsky's *Rite of Spring*. We are inside a houseboat on the River Seine, with the Eiffel Tower and Notre Dame both visible, side-by-side, from the portholes, serving as a vivid local backdrop to the events. Hammer-and-sickle posters, pictures of Stalin and stars of David bedeck the walls. A dozen or so unkempt, scraggly-bearded French Resistance fighters and their Soviet advisors are gambling passionately at Russian roulette, using German POWs (among

THE DUCK HUNTER

This daring film about the horrors of WWII for three German soldiers caught by the Resistance caused riots in Paris to rival those that greeted Stravinsky's Rite of Spring.

BY G.H. BELL

them Fritz) as subjects. After two of the prisoners have died in the nerve-shattering sequence, Pierre duPont, the most wholesome-looking of the guerrillas, clutches at his crucifix, straightens his beret, and, as he twiddles his pencil-moustache, earnestly addresses the cell-boss, "We are wasting precious ammunition and moreover the enemy might hear us." Jacob, the boss—a sinister figure with an eye-patch, swarthy skin, and a toad-like face—strokes his drooping Cantonese moustache with his two-fingered hand, sucks on his cigar, and screams in a high-pitched voice, "This will stop your nonsense," then shoots the dissident in the heart. An innocent and incredulous Fritz trembles in his cage at the sight of this terrorist brutality.

Many reviewers shrilly claim that this scene puts the Resistance in a negative light, but subsequent events effectively

cancel this impression. Night falls over the Seine; the inefficient guerrillas neglect to lock Fritz's cage, and so he flees the houseboat, ends up on the fashionable Champs-Élysées, where he sees the Eiffel Tower shining bright at the Place Étoile. Pure in soul, Fritz sublimely ignores the aggressive advances of sensuously-clad women of pleasure, who beckon him from streetcorners. Outside an old and elegant cafe he meets a tall, handsome Count, a worldly playboy with fine-chiselled features, silken shirt and tie, a crisp, courtly moustache, Polaroid glasses and a shiny-red Italian sports car. In his rich baritone voice Count de la Mole (for that is his name) invites Fritz to a grand ball being given by some aristocrats, collaborators for the Germans. The two take off for Vichy, driving North and arriving there in 10 minutes. Alas, when Fritz crosses the thresh-

hold of the 16th century chateau, he finds out to his horror that the dukes and duchesses are operating a Russian roulette casino, using German deserters and French peasants as paid subjects. Fritz wants out, but a slinky, dark-haired, dark-eyed *grande dame* named Countess Serpentina puts aside her golden cigarette-holder and honey-tongues the young swain, cajoling him with promises of wealth and women. And so war claims another lost soul: Fritz plies this deadly trade for a thousand and one nights, from mid-1941 to September 1944, accumulating boxes full of Reichmarks, which he ships home to his needy parents. And then, the crowning blow: even as Anglo-American troops march through and liberate France, a numbed, prematurely grey-haired Fritz ignores the din of M-16s and B52s, as do the cigar smoking counts and jaded countesses, who relentlessly egg their victim on to another performance. In his final act, Fritz puts the six-shooter to his head and falls dead to the floor. Fate has triumphed.

French leftists and intellectuals ritually assert a truism: that the Resistance never engaged in Russian roulette. "Sure, Russia was our ally," quipped one critic for the Communist daily *L'Humanité*, "but we never went so far as to ape their folklore." To these carpers Sergeant von Unsinn calmly replied at a press conference, "Fiction is not history. Those roulette scenes are not meant literally, they are a metaphor, a symbol for the random horrors of war." He mused, "War is like Russian roulette; it's a game of chance. You run the risk of being shot by both sides. From my movie, it should be clear that I hold no brief against the Resistance; I showed that German boys were killed not only by terrorists but by Vichy types as well." But in the blind passion generated by *Duck Hunter*, virtually no French critic has taken note of von Unsinn's cool and exacting objectivity.

The enigmatic title of the movie refers to the last scene, where—in a grim, Bunuellesque irony—we find out that the entire war sequence never happened, was nothing more than a nightmare in Fritz's head. As it turns out, after drinking too much beer at the Oktoberfest, Fritz and his friends had gone out to shoot a few ducks. But, in the blinding heat of the January sun, a drunken Fritz picked up his rifle and accidentally shot himself in the thigh; meanwhile the rifle report startled the ducks, an angered bevy of which, in a Hitchcockian way, swooped down on Fritz and knocked him cold. Fritz awakes after two delirious days in hospital, and is visited by Hugo and Ludwig, now eager to do their share for German glory. As the three *Kamaraden* lock hands they recite from memory the "Of War and Warriors" section from Nietzsche's *Thus Spake Zarathustra*, after which they intone the final choruses from *Die Meistersinger* and *Die Gotterdammerung* as they watch the sun set in the East. French critics cite this scene as evidence of von Unsinn's nationalistic glorification of war, but he insists the ending is ironic. "The war is depicted as a German tragedy. How could I glorify a war where Germans are being shot?" ■